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ABSTRACT

This exploratory study examines the issues connected with the civic participation of minority groups in Canada. Civic participation is service, either through appointment or election, on public boards and commissions other than those representing the participant's own ethnocultural group. Information was gathered from a literature review, interviews, and a focus group composed of minority group members experienced in civic affairs. The following major issues are discussed: (1) the need for a new definition of civic participation; (2) confusion on the part of minority group members about what the government expects of them and about whom they represent; (3) the slow pace of change toward equal representation in civic life, and the seemingly overwhelming odds against ever achieving that representation; (4) poor communication about opportunities and criteria for service; (5) the misconception that minority group members are interested only in human rights and related fields; and (6) trends in urban minority group politics that limit participation both among and within ethnic groups. A national survey of minority group attitudes is recommended. Two case studies are included. The appendixes include the following materials: (1) a 51-item bibliography of English-language resources; (2) a 30-item bibliography of French-language resources; (3) a 35-item bibliography of newspapers and magazines; and (4) four tables of statistical data. (FMW)

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The Civic Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society: Framework and Issues for Research and Analysis

Prepared by
George W. Bancroft
with
Dorothy A. Wills
Cecille M. DePass

Inter Cultural Associates Inc.
Toronto, Ontario

April 1990

Policy & Research,
Multiculturalism Sector
Multiculturalism & Citizenship Canada

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There has been very little study in Canada of civic participation by visible minorities, whether immigrant or Canadian born. The literature on the social and economic integration of immigrants touches such particulars as membership in clubs or tendency to vote in elections, but provides no theory of their participation in civic affairs. Until very recently, the focus was on the representation rather than the participation of visible or racial minorities. However, strong shifts in ethnic demography are bringing about an awareness not only of how few minority persons there are in civic organizations but also how problematic it is for minorities to participate in them.

New definitions and new models are required to study the civic participation of visible minorities. To groups traditionally denied political rights and cultural identity, the distinction between civic, cultural and political participation is not always consistent, especially in a society espousing an official ideology of multiculturalism. To communities lacking role models in certain fields, symbolic participation is on occasion as much valued as real participation. There are of course varying degrees of participation, and models for assessing this are presented.

Minority persons participate in civic affairs as ordinary citizens but also as representatives of their ethnic group. Traditionally, they have been excluded because of their racial origin, but with the emergence of a new ethno-politics, they are as likely to be appointed to boards or

nominated as election candidates for their racial origin as for their personal competence. They are confused by what government expects of them; and about whom they represent - the regular stakeholders, the political party and/or their entire race? The burdensome confusion will persist as long as the civic culture is based on the reality of white dominance and the rhetoric of multiculturalism.

Barriers to minority civic participation are included in a time factor and an arithmetic factor. The time factor presumes that governments take the course of gradualism when faced with demands for equitable representation. The ideology of ethnic succession has a strong hold on Canadian policy makers; they feel the turn of racial minorities will come in time. On the other hand, the racial minorities attach no historical time frame to human rights; they want equality now. The arithmetic factor produces a deadlock. While ethnic groups seek proportional representation on boards or even the Senate, there seems to be no way this can be implemented.

Canadians in general have been poorly informed of the criteria and the process of appointments. Visible minority Canadians are less informed about the availablity of appointments, although there are examples of a municipality and a province taking steps to address this. Minority persons are unsure of what sponsorship to obtain for nomination, and what role their ethnic or multicultural organizations can play in sponsorship.

It is commonly believed that minority persons are interested in serving only in the field of human rights, immigration, social assistance, etc. Although the exact

proportion remains to be measured in future research, the overwhelming majority of minority appointments appear to be in this field. This constitutes a powerful invisible barrier to full participation in the society. Minorities, like other Canadian citizens, are in fact willing to serve in all fields, including those from which they have been traditionally excluded.

Although ethnic politics have been a staple of Canadian history, especially in prairie provinces, a new ethnopolitics has arisen in the metropolitan areas of Canada. The trend is towards equal access to political office, but the opportunism of the political parties combined with the intensity of the new breed of "ethnic" candidates can result in divisiveness in the wider society and within ethnic groups. The emergence of "power brokers" and "gate keepers" presents a new barrier to the civic participation of ethnic and racial communities.

A framework for future research is presented. The definition of key concepts of civic participation held by visible minorities should be checked against the definition held by the majority society. Indicators of civic participation by visible minorities will be measured in a sample survey of minority citizens. Classification and analysis of the institutions to which minorities are appointed or elected would yield the extent and the range of their representation. The kind and degree of this participation would be elicited in a multi-faceted study of the individuals appointed or elected. Ultimately the study leads to a re-definition of the fundamentals of democracy in Canada.

FOREWORD

The question of who governs in a democratic society has engaged the attention of philosophers, social scientists and ordinary citizens for a long time, and even when answers, if any, are found to the question, should the social structure change, for whatever reason, the question has to be faced anew and new, indeed fresh, answers sought.

With the more recent but fundamental changes in Canadian society that have seen the so-called founding groups recede demographically from majority to minority status in many parts of the country; that have seen the marked increase in the non-white population, that have seen a concomitant expression on the part of politicians and a simultaneous demand on the part of the minorities and some sectors of the so-called mainstream to make equality of opportunity a more realizable dream, the questions of who control[1] and who seek[2] access to the centres of power gain a new saliency.

Undertaking this preliminary study of the area were Dr. Dorothy Wills, member of the faculty of Vanier College of Montreal and an outstanding community worker in the province of Quebec, Dr. Cecille DePass of Calgary and Professor George W. Bancroft, former Executive Director of the Multiculturalism and Citizenship Division of the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture. Dr. Bancroft was the principal investigator.

The help of innumerable persons must be acknowledged, among them the library staff of Vanier College, Montreal; Juanita Westmoreland-Traoré, President of the Quebec Council of Cultural Communities and Immigration; Dr. Agnes Calliste of St. Francis Xavier University of Antigonish, N.S.; Dr. B. Pachai of the Black Cultural Centre of Nova Scotia; Sharon Ross and Akintunde Adekayode of Nova Scotia; Nicole Fafond of the Montreal Urban Council; William Doyle-Marshall, Journalist; and Sandy Mowat, Executive Producer of the Dave Shatsky Show, Canadian Broadcasting Company, Toronto, who readily gave us access to a tape of his show on patronage appointments.

Marilyn Borg, Departmental Secretary in the Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, was helpful.

To these named people and to officials who shall remain anonymous, we express our sincere thanks.

G.W.B.
D.W.
C.DeP.

"The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you. Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy - a revered idea that is applauded by virtually everyone. The applause is reduced to polite handclaps, however, when this principle is advocated by the have-nots (minorities, visible or invisible). And when the have-nots define participation as redistribution of power, the ... consensus on the fundamental principle explodes into many shades of outright racial, ... ethnic, ideological, and political opposition."
(from "A Ladder of Citizen Participation, American Institute of Planners Journal, Vol.35, No.4, July 1969, p.216.)

"If people would feel more that this is our country, they would make more of a contribution to society. They would not withdraw but would really go out."
(Testimony of a non-white citizen, Proceedings and Evidence of the House of Commons Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, 1983.)

"In my own province here of Nova Scotia, for example, although we have had significant black population for some 200 years, we have yet to see our first black MLA, let alone our first black Cabinet Minister, and let alone black people in high government-appointed positions - that is with the exception, of course, of our Human Rights Commission, where it seems sometimes the reverse would appear to be the case."
(Testimony of a white citizen, Proceedings and Evidence of the House of Commons Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, 1983.)

Chapter I:

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM AND MODELS

This report deals with the civic participation of visible or racial minorities in Canadian society. The study attempts

a) to examine and critically analyze the available literature
b) to determine the salient issues
c) to determine issues, areas for further study
d) to tease out socio-economic indicators, the relevancy and significance of which may be tested in an empirical study, and
e) to make recommendations where possible.

This was intended to be an exploratory study, done over a three month period. The subject is of course extremely complex. Before the task can be pursued, there has to be some understanding of what the term, civic participation, means and some agreement on what processes or factors it embraces.

The Question of Definition

Officials in the Multiculturalism Sector of the Ministry of the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism offer the following definition:

> "Civic participation is service by way of election or appointment on boards, commissions, etc. in the public sector, other than those of the participant's own ethno-cultural group."

Put another way, the definition means that where an individual is appointed to a board or commission, by the government or its officials, that individual is manifesting civic participation. The same can be said to exist if the position held is gained by means of an election.

But this definition is not as helpful as at first glance it seems, because it raises a number of difficult questions: for example, are we talking about service on organizations such as the Canadian Human Rights Commission or one of its provincial counterparts, the Communication and Radio Telecommunications Commission, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Alberta Press Council, the Royal Ontario Museum? And is service on each of these generically the same?

Ignoring for the moment the fact that some of the above mentioned organizations are federal, some provincial, one notes that they differ markedly in function and, by

extension, in power. Some, such as the CRTC, have profound financial consequences to its activities because, by determining who should or should not be licenced to broadcast or telecast and for how long, the CRTC is influencing the flow of millions of dollars - in addition to the course of the cultural development of the society.

The same cannot be said about service on an organization such as an Arts Council, where, although there are economic consequences or objectives to its activities, these are secondary to the grant distribution function of the agency.

At yet another level, service on a board such as that of a museum or an art gallery has more cultural consequences than economic - although it is not without economic considerations; after all budgets have to be struck and lived within. However, the main function of such an agency is primarily entertainment, education or the cultural enrichment of society.

So, it is not enough to talk about civic participation in the abstract, or in a vacuum, as it were. One needs to consider, almost simultaneously, the type of agency in which the participation is to take place.

Put another way, civic participation in the CRTC is a markedly different phenomenon, process or reality from civic participation on an Arts Council, or civic participation on the board of a museum or an art gallery.

The Importance of Civic Participation

This subject is important for at least two reasons:

(a) When politicians meet with members of the various ethnic groups, they almost always hold out to them the promise of appointment to agencies, boards and commissions. Similarly, when members of the various ethnic groups present their requests (demands?) to politicians, whether this is done at investigatory committee sessions or in speech making, the frequent request is for appointments. The view seems to be that such appointments are proof positive of the existence of equality of opportunity; and, at long last, of the recognition of the capacity of the hitherto excluded no longer to be so; because

(b) such participation means in effect that one is taking part in the policy-making or decision-making activities of the society.

The fallacy of all this is that (a) there are decisions and decisions, that is to say that not all decisions made are equally important to the functioning of

society; for instance, the decision to mount a show of sea-shells at the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa can in no way be compared to the decision to grant a licence for an FM radio station in Toronto devoted primarily to so-called Black music!

Furthermore, there is a great deal more to policies than their making. There is the whole issue of their implementation, and by whom. So it is not enough for the rhetoric to centre on calls for civic participation, one needs to ask: civic participation in what? by whom? where and for what purpose?

Various Models of Civic Participation

To better grasp the concept of civic participation, one needs to consider various models or mechanisms of it that have been proposed. The following two models are considered here

* the co-optation model
* the ladder of citizenship participation model.

Although several other models are mentioned in the literature, these two seem most helpful for the purposes of this study.

1. The Co-optation Model

Professor Phillip Selznick in his seminal book, TVA and the Grassroots, a study in the sociology of formal organization, proposes the concept of co-optation as a model or mechanism for understanding the part that community people were eventually called upon to play in democratic planning for the huge Tennessee Valley Authority Project*.

Selznick defines co-optation as:

> "the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence." (p.13)

When "ethnics" clamour for appointments to agencies, boards and commissions, it is precisely because of their desire to be part of the leadership and/or policy making sector of society; and the threats that are posed, although not those of destroying the organization, are threats in the sense that they force all concerned to consider the purpose for which the organizations have been established and the relevance of their current practices. Such a re-examination is threatening.

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* In May 1933, the U.S. Congress created this project to deal with the development of government-owned properties in Alabama. The production and distribution of fertilizer and of electric power formed the basis of this multi-million dollar scheme, central to the operation of which was the principle of citizen and government ownership and control versus private ownership and control.

Selznick goes on to distinguish between two types of co-optation: formal co-optation and informal co-optation.

Formal co-optation occurs when the need exists for the organization publicly "to absorb new elements". This it does by various means, among them appointment to office. Such appointments are publicly or formally (officially) announced "... signifying participation in the process of decision making and administration" (p.13).

Two general conditions that give rise to formal co-optation are:

i. the attempt to win consent of the masses (or publics or the governed) by recruiting into the leadership cohort or organizational structure, "elements which in some way reflect the sentiment or possess the confidence of the relevant public or mass and which will lend respectability or legitimacy to the organs of control";

ii. the need to establish self-governing practices.

Here the interest tends to be in the form of power.

Then there is informal co-optation - a response to pressure brought to bear by "specific individuals who, or interest groups which, are in a position to enforce demands" (p.15).

Here the interest is in the substance of power, not necessarily in its forms (p.15).

Selznick concludes with the view that the value of co-optation lies not only in the fact that it is a way of adapting or responding to new social circumstances or broadening and changing of the leadership sector, but in the fact that both the character and the role of the organization or governing body are affected as a result of co-optation.

What does all of this talk about co-optation have to do with the civic participation of visible minorities in Canadian society? To answer a broad question by means of more detailed questions, it has to do with the following:

- Do the governing bodies on the one hand, and the visible minorities on the other, recognize the need for changing the structure of the leadership or policy-making levels? Of course the answer to this question, at first glance, may be yes; but the further and more disturbing question, beyond the rhetoric, is how sincere or how fundamental is the recognition of the need for change?

- Are the visible minorities really interested in the forms of power or the substance of power? Put another way: is it to be formal co-optation or informal co-optation?

Naming a Black, as in the case of Ontario, or a Chinese, as in the case of B.C., to the provincial lieutenant-governorship may be really only symbolic co-optation into the leadership class and not a substantive one - one with "clout" as the activists of the 1970's often called for. In other words, it may not represent any fundamental change in the condition of Blacks and Chinese, or any of the other racial minorities with which this study is concerned.

2. The ladder of citizen participation.

In a paper published for the American Institute of Planning, Sherry Arnstein (1969) formulates the theory that citizen participation can be viewed as consisting of eight rungs in a ladder, each rung manifesting a given degree of control having to do with the extent to which the participant contributes to the determining of:

the policies
the plans
the programs
the personnel
the products (or outcomes)

of a project.

Two quotations beautifully set the stage for what she is talking about. The first is based on a student's French poster:

je participe
tu participes
il participe
nous participons
vous participez
ils profitent

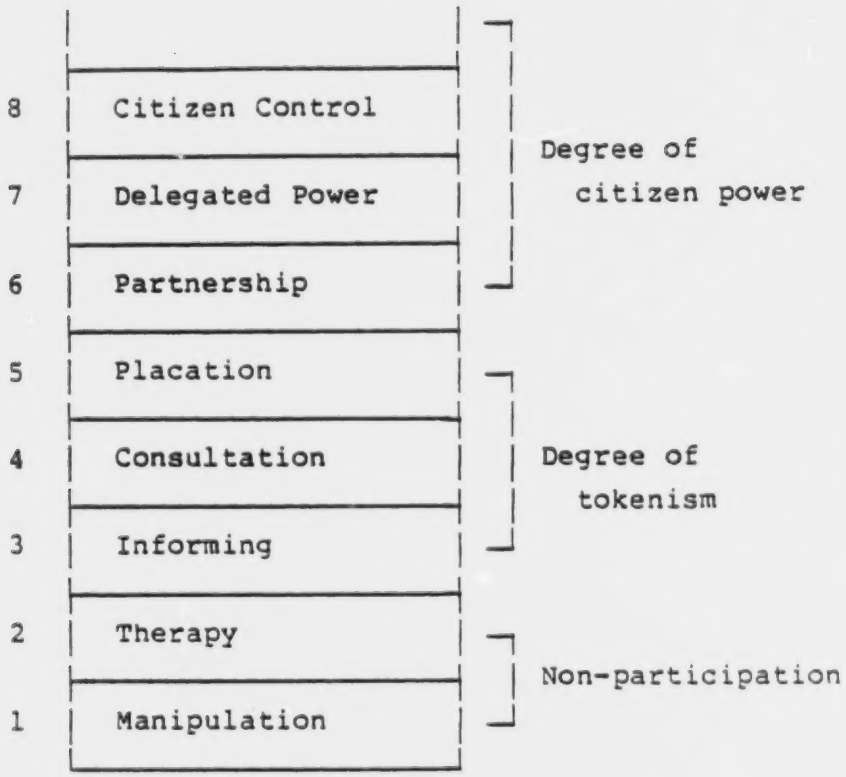
where "ils" of course is the "establishment" or the "power structure".

The second and more important quotation from Arnstein is the one with which this paper begins. It argues that citizen or civic participation is like motherhood - all are for it; no one against it. But what does it really mean?

One note of clarification in applying the quotation to the subject of this report: whereas Arnstein talks about "the have-nots" in the American context - the Blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Eskimos and poor whites - in the Canadian context we are looking at the "excluded" - the visible minorities selected for this study - Blacks, Chinese, South Asian and Southeast Asian, many of whose members cannot or should not be seen as being members of the dispossessed unwashed poor.

This distinction between the have-nots and the excluded having been recognized, the fundamental point of the quotation remains valid; namely, that everyone is enthusiastically for civic participation until it is realized that what is being talked about will, in the final analysis, mean a redistribution of power. And no one ever surrenders or distributes power out of the goodness of their hearts.

Arnstein's ladder consists of the following rungs:



Arnstein uses U.S. federal social programs such as urban renewal programs, anti-poverty programs and Model Cities projects to illustrate this typology. We can profitably use it to enquire into who gets on the Human Rights Commission, the CRTC, boards of crown corporations, and why they do. And if they don't, why not?

Rungs 1 and 2, Manipulation and Therapy are in effect levels of "non-participation". The real purposes of

appointments that fit the manipulative level is to place people "on rubber stamp advisory committees or advisory boards for the express purpose of 'educating' them or engineering their support" (p.218). At this level, genuine participation is illusory and is a public relations gesture made by the power holders.

The second rung, labelled Therapy, is an attempt to make the dispossessed feel their powerlessness less by making them believe that the appointment of one of their representatives reflects significant or genuine change.

Arnstein characterises the making of such appointments as dishonest and arrogant. To be alert to the possibility that such appointments can be made is sufficient for the current task.

Rung 3. Informing

The positive characteristic of this rung lies in the fact that informing citizens of their rights, responsibilities and options can be the most important first step toward legitimate citizen participation (p.219). However, the disadvantage lies in the fact that frequently the flow of information is one-way, from above down, with no provision made for a counterflow.

Rung 4. Consultation:

As does the preceding, this level has its advantages. It can be, as Arnstein argues, a legitimate step toward full participation. But its disadvantage lies in the fact that sheer consultation may not be enough if (a) there is little or no assurance that the views of the consulted will be taken into account, (b) the methods used for consulting do not do justice to the integrity of those consulted and (c) provision is not made at some point in the process for the consulted either to initiate the consultation or to implement whatever came out of it.

One of the major criticisms in the multicultural arena made of consultative councils and advisory boards, is that that is all they really are - "consultative"!

Rung 5. Placation:

Confronted by angry residents of a racial ghetto, a senior official in an American city might say to his/her staff: "Can you find us a Black whom we can appoint to some high profile but symbolic position to keep the Blacks (and other minorities who pay attention to such things) happy; and in that way our cities won't burn during the summer."

Another term for placation is "appeasement". A humble but by no means illiterate citizen in Toronto told the

author that when a certain appointment had been made, her boss - she is in domestic service, he is "mainstream" - in casual conversation with her said that (a) in his view such appointments were being made to appease the visible minorities and (b) he wondered what expertise in the field the appointed person had to hold the position.

Actually one of the best qualifications for this particular position is a great sensitivity to people under stress. It also exemplifies the possibility of achievement that may be said to inhere in Canadian society. But the post carries a title that, in another context, has a technical meaning. It was the latter context that her boss was applying and, as a result, doubting the ability of the appointed person to hold the position. Thus he was very convinced of the "appeasement-of-the-minorities" strategy of the government.

Rung 6: Partnership.

Here, according to Arnstein, power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and powerholders (p.221). Responsibilities for planning and decision-making are shared; those appointed become accountable, and are held so, to an organized power-base in the community; processes such as bargaining and making trade-offs operate and one feels one is influencing in some real way the social outcomes. One feels a partner with the

bureaucracy and with other constituencies in making society work - hopefully, successfully.

Rung 7: Delegated power.

At this level the citizens negotiate with government officials and achieve dominant decision making authority over a particular plan or program. In this regard, one can consider councils such as the Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism and Citizenship or the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. Significant agencies though they may be, their role is, in the final analysis, purely advisory or consultative. Their success depends on the competence of the appointees and the climate of co-operation that may be established. They have not been delegated any power to negotiate differences of policy or program between the bureaucrats and their ethnocultural constituents. They have no control over hiring, firing and policy making.

One is not arguing here that they should; one is only drawing attention to the limits of their power - not necessarily of their influence.

Rung 8: Citizen Control

At this level citizens simply demand "that degree of power (or control) which guarantees that participants ... can govern a program or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions under which 'outsiders' may change them" (p.223).

Citizen control does not imply anarchy or an alternative government. It implies that, subject to the overarching control of any government duly and democratically elected, any of its administrators and agents who, as public servants, attempt to implement the policies formulated by the governing bodies, citizens have a high degree of direct control over projects and programs that fall within their purview.

The purpose of this section was to indicate that there is more to civic participation than the appointment or election to agencies, boards, and commissions. Ranging from co-optation to citizen control, its study demands attempting to get at the process by means of which the general desire for participation becomes a reality.

By recognizing more clearly what really is civic participation, and that similarities and differences exist among the viewpoints of both those who choose and those who are chosen, one is in a better position to determine how successfully or how dysfunctionally this process works in our democratic Canadian society.

Methodology

Three researchers conducted the study, one focussing on Quebec and the Maritimes, another tapping resources and contacts in western Canada, the third - and the author of this report - exploring the situation in Ontario and also co-ordinating the study.

Several sources provided the exploratory data collected. They were:

- A wide range of articles in scholarly journals such as the Canadian Journal of Ethnic Studies; the Canadian Journal of Sociology and Anthropology and the American Institute of Planners Journal.

- Almost 1,000 articles culled from newspapers across the country over the past few months. These articles ranged from one that posited the existence of an ethnic pecking order (Winnipeg Free Press, 23.11.86) through "Pork barrel equality"; an editorial in the Montreal Gazette (14.10.86) that sarcastically examines 'equal opportunity in patronage': to one, an editorial in the Toronto Globe and Mail (4.6.88), that poses disturbing questions of the goals of civic divisiness and separation to which the governmental policies of multiculturalism in implementation may be tending in Canada: to an article in Le Droit (23.10.86) entitled "Mulroney joue la carte du multi-culturalisme", which deals with the Prime Minister's speech at a $150 a plate fund raising dinner attended by some 850 Italian-Canadians.

Other mainstream newspapers included the B.C. Times - Colonial, The Nova Scotia Daily News and the Alberta Edmonton Journal.

In this category were included English language newspapers serving specific ethnocultural or racial groups, e.g. Share and Contrast that serve the Black and the West Indian communities.

There were also summaries of articles from non-English language newspapers translated and prepared by a news clipping service.

- Popular magazines such as Saturday Night and Maclean's contributed their share of insightful articles.

- Certain dissertations submitted by candidates for graduate degrees at Dalhousie and McMaster Universities.

- Interviews and conversations with a wide range of persons from senior career government officials to elected people, to members of voluntary associations.

- A focus group in Ontario comprised of non-white men and women with significant experience in civic affairs.

- A phone-in public affairs radio show dealing with patronage appointments; and

- A multiplicity of informal talks with colleagues, friends and other "soldiers in the trenches".

The above sources were supplemented by a bibliography contributed by Dr. Charles Ungerleider of the University of British Columbia. Computer searches were carried out on behalf of the researchers by library staff at Vanier College in Quebec, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto, and the Option Communication Société de Consultation, Recherche Communication et Marketing Multiculturelle de Montréal.

Chapter II:

TWO VIGNETTES

Lacking a body of hard empirical data by means of which to examine the phenomenon under study, one reverts to one or two real cases. These are presented in some detail and analysed. The facts of the cases are true, but the identities of the individuals and the agencies concerned have been changed to protect everybody and to prevent embarrassment*.

Vignette No. 1

And So The Call Comes

Janet Sterman was at work in her study at home marking term assignments. It was around 11:00 a.m.. The telephone rang. "Dr. Sterman?" said a voice unknown to the professor "I am Jack Branker. I am calling on behalf of Cecelia Ashby, the official above me. My job is to recommend to the minister, who in turn sends the name through to the Premier, persons for appointments to Boards and Commissions, and Cecelia Ashby was wondering if you would let your name go through."

Sterman reflected for a moment; at long last the call had come through for an appointment. Friends, colleagues and family members had been needling her for some time

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*Somewhat similar vignettes were presented on the David Shatsky phone-in show, a CBC production. The show, which featured Noel Bates of the Ontario division of the Canadian Bar Association, dealt with patronage appointments. It was aired on August 6, 1988.

wondering why everybody else was getting major appointments and not her, despite her proven and well-known record of achievement and service.

So the call had come through. And yet, for some reason, she was not ecstatic. She could not tell why, but there was something bothering her which had not surfaced sufficiently clearly in her consciousness for her to put a label on it. It would surface later, however.

"What do you have in mind?" Sterman asked hesitantly. "Well, there is the new Automobile Insurance Commission that is being set up. There is also the Citizens Relations Commission."

"Oh! Oh!" Sterman thought. "There it goes again. Another race relations industry committee."

The conversation went back and forth inconclusively for some time, then Sterman said, "I shall talk to your superior shortly and get back to you."

A Question of Protocol

Sterman called Ashby whose position in the bureaucracy was definitely junior to that of Sterman in academia. Eventually, she got hold of Ashby. And then Sterman realized what had been bothering her in the first place. Why had not the initial call come from either this functionary or indeed

someone still higher up in the scheme of things? But surely not from a very junior clerk, gracious and respectful though that clerk was.

Ashby "sold" the advantages of the appointment: "We are attempting to put people of a certain stature and with proven reputations on this commission."

Sterman was still hesitant. Her intense conflict was between two principles: on the one hand to serve, and in any capacity where needed - call this social service - on the other hand, (call this self-interest) the desire as a professional person to get out of the race relations industry. Surely she had more than demonstrated talents that could be used in other social arenas. "What else do you have to offer?" "Well there is the Council of Higher Education". "Oh, I really would not mind that!" "But the need is greater in Citizens Relations - it's a broader field whose impact is felt in wider spheres of society."

At the end of the conversation Sterman reflected. Was she being arrogant, or overly ambitious - characteristics which she <u>did</u> not want to be central to her concept of herself? She did have some experience in this field; and although she knew that some members of her racial community felt she had sold out to the mainstream and had become the white man's Aunt Jemima, she knew that others both within and outside her racial community regarded her with respect.

Eventually she called Branker, the junior functionary, and gave her consent.

And so Sterman became a member of the prestigious Citizens Relations Commission.

A Matter of Publicity

No mainstream press carried the news; the ethnic press did; so did the newsletter from her institution. Friends from the ethnic community called their congratulations. So did professional colleagues whose interests were not in the citizens relations field; in other words, they defined the mandate of the agency as being broader than the ethno-racial. The implication here is that they do not see Sterman's appointment primarily as a visible minority one, but as one serving their institutional interests. Several "grassroots" people called. One said, "Now the people have a representative!"

Let us compare this response with that of her professional colleagues. In a way the responses are the same: the institution has a representative. So, now, whom does Sterman represent - her racial community or her institutional colleagues? To which of them is she accountable?

Her experience on the job

From the outset certain things happpened that, in several ways, illustrate the complexity yet the importance of exploring the process rather than the structure of civic participation.

(a) She was regarded as a member of the visible minority who had done much work in that community. This ran counter to her view. In other words, her definition of herself and of her role differed from that of others.

(b) The role of members of this board was very vague in a way, and somewhat at odds with what she had thought her role was going to be.

(c) There was an indistinctiveness between the role of members and the role of staff.

(d) While members were by mandate the final policy decision-making unit of the organization, it was obvious that the power resided in the full-time career staff. Members were part-time appointees, paid a modest honorarium for service. Thus the recompense lay really more in the satisfaction of serving than being gainfully employed.

(e) The volume of paper to be read in preparation for meetings, and to make intelligent decisions with far reaching consequences was mountainous. In other words, it was her expertise as an analytical academician or scholar more than any of her other qualifications on which she drew primarily in discharging her role as member.

f) The mandate covered the interests of much more than her ethno/racial group. At times, however, she intervened strenuously on their behalf not as a result of representation made to her by members of this group, but because she "has been there" or she "knows how the shoe pinches". She has been able to see certain issues from a somewhat different perspective and draw them to her colleagues' attention.

But attempts at collegial consciousness raising can often be at the price of staff criticism; and this can affect staff morale.

(g) She was aware of personality and ideological differences and tensions among some colleagues.

But there were positives - not that the preceding were really negative.

(a) She was learning a great deal of a field of which she realized she knew very little. Hence the challenge.

(b) She found that she asked searching questions touching on the public good - of the wider society, of her institutional professional community, and of the ethno-cultural community - all of whose concerns flow into the mandate of her board.

c) As time went by, the challenge made the job more exciting.

But <u>is</u> she happy? <u>Is</u> she satisfied? Ask her this and she will tell you she does not really know. Is the appointment worth it? Again she would, with a disarming shrug of the shoulders and a grin, say that it's too early to tell. She wants to wait and see. But she leaves you with no doubt that she values the challenge.

<u>Analysis</u>

What do/can we learn from the foregoing that is relevant for our enquiry here?

1. The manner of selection is:

- All happenstance. There is no evidence of just how Branker and Ashby came to think of Sterman as a likely nominee. From the standpoint of empirical research, it would be of value to collect hard data on this very first step.

  One listens to the people who speak for the associations that represent the four visible minority groups of this study and they will tell you that they want either to prepare a talent bank themselves or have a neutral third party do so. In the bank would be accumulated names and curricula vitae of people such as Sterman. But talk to Sterman and she will tell you that

(a) she is reluctant to send her curriculum vitae to any ethnic association banking group because she does not want them to know all the C.V. will reveal of her, and more particularly, she does not want to be beholden to such groups for her appointment.

(b) she does not know how her name got on anybody's list.

When two significant appointments were made from members of the Black community, the response of both appointees as reported in the Black press was the same: they did not know how their names came to the fore!

2. the initial contact - what is/should be the protocol? Who should make the initial contact?

- junior functionary?
- middle range functionary?
- deputy minister?
- minister?

3. The decision making time factor or the time imperative:

- a week or less to accept or not to accept. And if one refuses? Will there be another chance?

4. The mandate of the board - to what extent is it really understood by the prospective appointee or should it be a case of joining now and learning later?

5. The representation factor - whom do I really represent?

   - I represent the wider society
   - I represent my ethno-cultural group
   - I represent my professional group
   - I don't give a damn whom I represent; the interesting thing is the challenge of the task.

6. What do I learn? ... Do I really want to learn?

7. What is the quality of group dynamics in the group that I join

   - ideological similarities/differences
   - professional similarities/differences
   - And what of country-of-origin background. I'm Arab/you're Jew.

8. How do we work together on delivering the mandate?

9. Is it worth it?

Put these issues another way and they reduce to

- Who is chosen or called?
- Who chooses or calls?
- Who defines the roles?

- Who determines the modus operandi or the modus vivendi of the group?
- What tasks are involved - including their effectiveness - in achieving these mandated tasks?
- What is the quality of interpersonal relationship
  - among colleagues?
  - among staff?
  - between staff and board?
- What is the contribution, if any, of the appointed person to effect any fundamental changes by way of decision-making?
  Is the substance of power being put into effect or is it all just tokenism?
- Is there a sense of accomplishment or achievement, that is, of doing something really worthwhile.

The above are a few of the issues illustrated by the preceding vignette. Interestingly enough, many of these same questions were raised on the David Shatsky's show of August 6 that featured Noel Bates of the Canadian Bar Association.

Vignette No. 2

On Becoming an Ambassador

Let us call the position to be filled that of ambassador - which it really is not; but the actual title of the position and the true facts recounted here may lead to the identification of the players involved. Such identification might hamper the teasing out of the fundamental processes at work in choosing individuals to serve on boards, commissions and agencies.

Once again Janet Sterman's phone rang. It was a trusted friend - Tommy Davis.

"Janet, I want to ask a favour of you. I know that some consideration is being given to the appointment of non-career persons with 'people skills' to certain ambassadorial positions. I should like to be considered for one. I want my name brought to the attention of the powers-that-be, but I cannot make the approach myself. I trust you, can you help me?"

Both Tommy and Janet knew that Janet could not only be trusted but believed sufficiently in Davis' qualifications and attitudes, that he would be a very good choice for such an appointment.

So, using the full panoply of her institution - letter-head, professional status, nothing to hint at an

ethno-cultural background on the part of either letter writer or the candidate, she wrote the powers-that-be "calling attention" to Tommy Davis and recommending his appointment.

Davis got the appointment. Sterman has kept her word and her counsel when the appointment has been questioned in the narrower "ethnic" community.

This vignette reveals certain features germane to our study

- the trust the aspirant-to-appointment places in the nominator at the personal level
    - . to understand a personal request
    - . to be discreet
    - . to preserve a confidence, and
    - . to act altruistically (and not from a "what's-in-this-for-me standpoint)
- the panoply of institutional forces that Sterman brings to bear - nothing is said ethno-culturally, but everything is done to make it seem that the recommendation for appointment is coming from the mainstream institution. (This is not done dishonestly, but it is "part of the game".)

- the recommendation being an individually sponsored one; that is, sponsored by someone of a given professional stature and not one sponsored by a grassroots or ethnocultural group or coalition.

- the appointee's being beholden to no one - or being made so to feel.

- the appointee's welcoming the challenge of what is, in effect, a career change. It needs to be noted that this position gives Davis a social status that his business career did not, even though there is no major difference in income.

- the role of the sponsor - the trusted individual who could be approached and who would understand.

- the ambivalence of the narrower "ethno-cultural" group to the appointment.

And one wonders if the name had come forward either from a given ethnocultural group or from a coalition

of such groups* (a) what routes it would have had to travel to come on the desk of the responsible Minister or if the Minister would have treated it in exactly the same way as he did when it came, ostensibly, from a mainstream societal institution.

- Who sponsors?
- Who channels?
- Who assesses - given the sponsor and the channel?

These are the burning questions.

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* One wonders, (a) if such nomination would be any more successful coming from a given ethno-cultural group - be it Black, Chinese, South Asian, or Southeast Asian or a coalition thereof be it the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, or the Consultative Council on Multiculturalism.

In the literature frequent mention was made of the role organizations such as the last two can play in facilitating nominations. If this is so, every attempt should be made for some teeth to be put into their nominating role.

The above mentioned vignettes are true. They have have been cited here for two principal reasons:

(a) to put a "face" on what my be considered an impersonal process and

(b) to recommend as a problem for further research into the complex issue of civic participation, the accumulation of similar case histories and vignettes, the better to understand the process.

Put another and painfully specific way:

- How did a Black, Canadian born of West Indian parents, Tory politician come to be appointed Lieutenant Governor?

- How did a Chinese, Hong Kong immigrant of 21 years ago, multimillionaire, philanthropist and businessman, come to be chosen and appointed Lieutenant Governor?

- How did a Canadian Indian come to be chosen and appointed Lieutenant Governor?

- How did a Black, woman, Barbadian immigrant, member of a political Party, come to be chosen and appointed senator - the first Black?

- How did a Chinese, Hong Kong immigrant of some 30 years, professor, come to be chosen to fill the part-time Presidency of a provincial Advisory Council on Multiculturalism for a three year term, succeeding a Black, a woman, Jamaican of origin and a career civil servant for whom it was a full-time appointment, she having succeeded a Ukrainian and an active politician, who having lost his federal seat, got the appointment as President, then resigned it to seek and to win a provincial seat.

- Or a Black American, a provincial Ombudsman?

- Or another Black, this time from Nova Scotia, Ombudsman of a western province?

- Or a woman, Chinese, Hong Kong born, a provincial agent-general to a leading European capital.

- Or an East Indian from East Africa, Deputy Solicitor General of Ontario - thereby becoming the first provincial deputy minister of visible minority origin?

- Or another East Indian, formerly from Guyana, Deputy Minister of Natural Resources in Manitoba?

Do such appointments come about by chance or is there a discernible route by which these and other participants in the civic affairs of Canada can be determined? The analysis of the process cries out for attention.

Chapter III:

ISSUES - FROM THE LITERATURE

The government wants to appoint more Blacks, Chinese, South Asians (East Indians from India, Pakistan, East Africa) and Southeast Asians (Cambodians, Laotians, Vietnamese) to agencies, boards, and commissions. More Blacks, Chinese, South Asians, Southeast Asians ask, demand or clamour to be appointed. All of this is done in the interest of democracy, equality of opportunity, decision and policy making, and civic participation. But what really are the issues, the barriers, the dysfunctions - whatever intervenes between the desire and the implementation?

This section of the report is devoted to the issues - their statement and their critical analysis.

The issues have been culled from a multiplicity of sources:

- voluminous clippings of national newspapers with the occasional ethnic one thrown in,
- reports of evidence submitted to the Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society that produced the report, Equality Now
- articles in scholarly journals such as Canadian Journal of Ethnic Studies
- a multiplicity of more standard texts
- insightful interviews with persons at senior decision making levels in municipal, provincial and federal governments.

All of these were thoroughly explored.

The issues emerge from a close, objective and analytical reading of the material.

They are not necessarily based on frequency of mention but on the author's view of their saliency or the extent to which, in his informed or considered judgement, they contribute to a better understanding of the phenomemon under study.

Statements of issues were noted on filing cards, which were sorted into themes. They are presented in their variety in the following order:

- Issue No. 1: And what really is civic participation?
- Issue No. 2: The time factor
- Issue No. 3: The arithmetic factor
- Issue No. 4: The selection - criteria and methods
- Issue No. 5: Racism
- Issue No. 6: A question of equality
- Issue No. 7: The competition and the divisiveness
- Issue No. 8: Civic participation or ethnopolitics?
- Others

Issue No. 1:

And what really is civic participation?

This issue was raised in several situations. In a way it has been touched on paradigmatically above where both Selznick's models of co-optation and Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation were presented. But these have been drawn from the scholarly or the theoretical literature. What follows here, however, is an analysis of what Canadian people - individuals with specific or vested interest in the process of civic participation - have said.

To facilitate the understanding of the overall issue, sub-issue points have been itemized.

1. To what extent is civic participation synonymous with (a) cultural participation, (b) political participation? If these are different, what is the relationship among them? This is a fundamental question.

   In distinguishing among the three forms of participation, one author argues that "visible minorities need to take a brief holiday from dance and drama and involve themselves in the political process" because the political rather than the cultural process is really the sphere in which real power resides.

He argues that cultural participation, what another calls folklorama, has come of age in Canada, but it does not address the long term concerns of the ethnocultural communities. He feels that political influence and power cannot be gained by any community - he was speaking specifically of the South Asian minorities - unless they make a serious commitment* to the political process in particular; and, first and foremost, at the local or grassroots level.

In other words, he sees participation as a negotiation of power; and argues that, in the final analysis, it is within the political and not the cultural arena that significant participation resides.

This theme is picked up in the additional argument that the government, in pursuing cultural participation, funds - and thereby caters to - the ethnocultural groups so that "they can fantasize in their 'culture', which may no longer exist in their country of origin."

Cultural participation has to do with movies, dances, foods, dress, religious festivals, etc. These are important. But one writer called them "exotic dishes" and, deploring the exotica of participation, points to the need to enter the

* Emphasis added G.W.B.

political arena; that is to say, to arrive at a higher level of participation in which the ethnocultural communities, individually or collectively, define the issues they consider important and take action on them.

But there is a feeling that cultural participation represents a significant advance in the expression of a Canadian culture that is neither British - left so long ago - or American, that still impinges powerfully almost inescapably on us. And what of the Québecois expression - a potent and secure mode in itself?

Before the issue of cultural participation is left, two points need to be made. First, one could not help noticing, on the occasion of the visit to Canada of His Holiness the Pope, the many and significant attempts made by all concerned to base their welcoming pageants on Canadian cultural reality whether in Montreal, or Ontario or out west. And so, in Ontario the eagle feather of the indigenous peoples figured in his greeting equally with the expression of Polish Canadians; in Quebec the stadium show was French with the demonstrably evident ondulation, depicted by the human forms of the participants, of the wings of the dove of peace. Comparably Canadian reality was "injected" in western Canada.

Nor can one forget the extent to which the concluding ceremonies of the Olympic Games in Montreal made use of ethnocultural material as part of a Canadian cultural expression.

A third example may be cited. When, on behalf of British Columbia and the rest of Canada, Vancouver welcomed Rick Hansen from his Man-in-Motion world tour in a remarkable outpouring of national pride in the civic arena there, multicultural or ethnocultural acts figured prominently.

So the person who is disposed to discount the importance of the song and the dance - ethnic, indigenous or invented - as expressions of national identity, need to be reminded of the famous person who felt that he wished that, despite his accomplishments, he had been the one to have written his nation's songs; or of General Wolfe, who, on the eve of confronting General Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham was reputed to have said,after having been heard repeating Thomas Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard", he would have preferred to have been the composer of that poem than the conqueror of Quebec.

The stories sound romantic and "of the past" but linked with the examples offered of the Pope's visit, the Montreal Olympic Games and the Rick Hansen reception, they make the point that the importance of cultural participation is not to be discounted.

2. But we must return to political participation as being the most important of all forms of participation. Further issues are raised. They have to do with:

- the differentiation between the rhetoric and the determination to make a reality of the doctrine that citizens need to participate in making decisions on matters touching the destiny of all.

- the defining of that participation: who defines the roles, the "problems", the players in such participation.

- the direction of that participation.

Differentiation between the rhetoric and the reality

Let us consider the issue. The literature points to the fact that a certain cynicism exists on the part of visible minorities - and other citizens - of the extent to which the powers-that-be, namely the government and the politicians really mean what they say. Many of the newspaper articles, reflecting a great deal of

sophistication on the part of visible minority citizens - and others for that matter - simply just don't believe or accept the rhetoric. They know that the politicians will say what they, the politicians, think the citizens want to hear.

So a Prime Minister or a Premier says that he/she intends to appoint visible minorities to agencies, boards, and commissions. But the visible minorities, despite their enthusiastic applauding, have heard the rhetoric before. And when the rally and the applause are over, their skepticism comes to the fore.

In the author's view - and here he permits himself a personal view, but one based on extensive experience of all aspects of Canadian society - many politicians underestimate the intelligence and the sophistication of the ethnic communities, particularly those of visible minorities.* And when they, the politicians, make all of those claims, communities or individuals in those communities are ready to discount them.

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* The point really at issue here is the incorrect perception politicians hold of the levels of intelligence, education and social-class sophistication of the visible minorities.

The defining of that participation and the roles.

This point is captured by the following thought-provoking statement, which appears in the literature: "A minority is judged by what it can contribute to the majority". Who said this, where and when is not the important point. The important point concerns who defines the minority and in what way.

Within the specific context of the phenomenon under study - the civic participation of four visible minority ethnic groups - are these groups, their representatives and their participation to be judged by the majority system and by that system's view of the contribution that group can and/or does make to the majority?

Put another way, in considering a member of the South Asian community for either appointment or election, to what extent will/should the fate of that individual be based on what the system or the establishment deems the contribution of his/her group to be to the total Canadian society, or on the competence and performance of his/her ethnocultural group* or, furthermore should it be based on his/her group's definition of itself?

Consider the following scenario in this regard. A Rastafarian presents himself/herself for consideration.

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* Link this with the issue of like representing like, page 60.

Does the "establishment" say: "Your group has contributed little or nothing to Canadian society" or, does the Rastafarian say, "I have worked hard and exclusively in my community. I know what the issues are - issues in which all communities are interested. I should like to be considered."

The (sub)-issue of the direction, the initiative, the encouragement

This issue is captured by statements or questions such as:

- Have you offered yourself (for consideration)?
- Have you come forward?
- We do not enter (party) politics except on specific issues.
- What are you waiting for?
- We would be willing to offer ourselves if we were asked, but we are not demanding this.
- We need to feel this is our country.
- We need to get people to come forward to offer themselves.
- There is a lack of interest, an apathy, a lackadaisical attitude on the part of ethnic groups.

- "Our ethnic people want to be left alone" (statement by the Mayor of a medium sized Ontario town).
- Ethnic people are not getting involved although (opportunity has) been open all the time.
- Minorities have been hurt by their self-hesitation.
- The barriers are there but the main barrier is (ethnic) apathy.

These several statements have been culled from the literature. Summarily, they point to the overriding question having to do with what is called direction here: who should take the initiative? who should eradicate the apathy? who should encourage? should the groups and their representatives come forward for consideration? should government encourage groups and their representatives to come forward? If so, how?

All of these are sub-issues within the entire category of cultural, political and civic participation.

Before the issue and its clustering sub-issues are left and before recommendations are stated, there may be merit in citing certain quotations from the citizens that contribute to a better understanding of the differences among cultural, political and civic participation.

> "It is said that to participate in the political life of a country is the* final and most complex stage in the adjustment process of the immigrant to a new society. It involves learning how to identify one's own major interests and then learning how to participate effectively in the system."
>
> "Civic participation means possessing and exercising that degree of power and control which guarantees that participants can govern a program or an institution, be it in full charge of policy and managerial aspects and be able to negotiate the conditions under which outsiders may change them."
>
> "Citizen participation means 'partners in the programs'."

Given the above analysis, it becomes increasingly clear that policies, and the programs that flow from them, need to take into account the issue of what civic participation really is.

It is recommended that the Secretary of State Department through its multicultural and citizenship divisions, sponsor a major conference to re-define civic participation in the light of the current multicultural multiracial character of Canadian society. Mainstream players involved in promoting participation in political parties, charitable organizations, interest groups, etc. would meet with ethnic and racial representatives to compare their understanding of the participation process and outcomes, and to delineate programs of civic education. Such a conference could be preceded by a colloquium of scholars and policy makers to prepare discussion papers for the conference.

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* In all of the above cases the emphases are added.

Issue No.2:

The Time Factor

This is one of the most significant questions for which members of the visible minorities seem to be seeking honest and forthright answers. One may remember that during the heady days of the civil rights movement when demands were being presented by citizens, students on campuses, or various other activist groups, the slogan was "we want the (following) NOW!" Juxtaposed with this were either the "NEVER" of the bigot or the gradualism of the liberal.

Several variations on the theme were found.

* "Your time will come"
  The chairman of a significant public committee once said to an audience of non-whites: "Your time is coming - the next 30 years". From the reported evidence, it was not clear if he was expressing a wry and ironic humour, or if he intended to be taken seriously; but his argument was that his and other ethnic groups, coming on the scene in the early post war years, now occupy significant positions in most if not all parts of the social structure. By that token, the time of the racial minorities would come.

Another way the theme was expressed was:

- "Take your time, your time will come". This is the concept of gradualism or evolution. A significant Canadian of Finnish origin said that he also was a visible minority but had made it. In his view, the people responsible for making the changes were good people, but they needed time to bring about change - the implication of course being "give us time" or "abide your time."

- In some cases an attempt was made to state a time limit. One writer proposed that, because certain groups have very immediate concerns, it would take them "about five years" before they became interested in such issues as entering more fully into the decision making spheres of Canadian society and "affirming" - probably one should have said "asserting" - themselves.

  Others speak of "the natural evolution of time" or "the inevitability of the evolution".

But there are a number of thought-provoking and frankly expressed countering views, such as:

- we have no time
- we are ready to make a pretty great leap in a pretty short time

. How long are we going to be ethnic instead of Canadian? (Either being considered so, or considering themselves so.) "After more than 100 years some of their descendants now prefer to be more ethnic than Canadian," one person said.

The "we have no time" attitude is an ambiguous one. In one sense it means that there is no time to wait; but in another sense it means that we have no time to serve.

This last view centres on what may be called the generational issue. It argues that members of the first generation of immigrants are - or have to be - more concerned about survival; that is, getting the necessities of life and establishing bases of security by way of such things as food, shelter and the education of their children; hence such broader issues as civic participation have to be relegated to a lower level in their order of priorities. It is their children and grandchildren, who, the survival necessities having been assured by their ancestors, now manifest an interest in securing such higher order rights as to participate in making decisions touching their destinies and the destinies of the whole wide range of fellow Canadians.

And so, while Grandfather and Grandmother struggled to get money to buy a radio, Grandson and Granddaughter want to have some decision-making say on what the CBC and the private venture radio and telecommunication organizations produce.

But some persons are prepared to debunk the generational argument and point out that many white first generation immigrants, such as the Honourable John Turner, have been able to achieve economic security and participate in the decision making process within their generation. So have several non-whites who have been elected to provincial legislatures or to head their professional organizations. In their view, we are living in a new age where many of the patterns of the old no longer hold; hence the entire matter of the generational issue needs to be debunked. Indeed a former provincial minister of citizenship and culture has been known to state publicly on several occasions, "Canada is a country where patriotism is not measured in number of years of residence." Some would say the same of civic participation.

The time factor applies in yet other ways which, while not as important as those presented above, need to be recognized. They may be labelled

- the veterans versus the newcomers
- the waiting-for-Godot attitude.

There is some evidence from the literature that appointments have gone to relative newcomers whereas the veterans who have paid their dues and/or earned their spurs have been overlooked. A thought-provoking example of this argument surfaced when one provincial premier appointed first one, then two years later, a second non-white neophyte to his provincial cabinet, seeking to reflect, thereby, what he called "the new face" of his province.

White veteran back benchers who, understandably, had been hoping for their chance, though presumably sympathetic to the appointments, expressed some dissatisfaction.

There is evidence too that within a given ethnic group - white or non-white - the same dissatisfaction obtains whereby individuals who have lived here twenty years and under seem to be getting the rewards over those who came some thirty or forty years ago.

A note of caution needs to be expressed with regard to this line of argument, because the immigrant of forty years standing may very well be older than the one of twenty years. Hence, in a way, the former's time has passed.

The final point - the waiting-for-Godot motif. In presenting a brief to government, a group once argued that the opportunity to serve had not presented itself, "that we have been waiting to be invited" to participate in the decision making process by way of nominating someone for an appointment.

What is striking here is the notion of "waiting to be invited". There arises the challenge of what needs to be done, without disparaging it, to cope with such an attitude.

The following recommendation emerge from a consideration of the "time factor" issue:-

That a sample of appointments be studied to determine:-

1) the nature of "paying one's dues"

2) how much does "experience" count

3) whether there is a preference for "newcomers" over "veterans".

Issue No. 3:

The arithmetical factor

Background data presented in tables prepared by CEIC, 1986 illustrate the geographic distribution of visible minorities and their concentration in major urban centres (see Appendix 1). These tables depict the inappropriateness of applying concepts of proportional representation and quotas to the selection procedures.

To be more specific, how many is enough; that is, how many reflect opportunity and fairness? How many are too many? How do you "share the pie"? One very senior official, sympathetic to the matter of civic participation, asked the author, "When you have a limited number of places to be filled, and the number of prospective candidates is very much greater, how do you decide to distribute the number of places among the multiplicity of categories into which the prospective candidates or those aspiring to office can be placed?"

A newspaper published by one ethnic group dramatically made the point as follows:

> "Although there are now five Members of Parliament and two senators of Ukrainian background, the Canadian Ukrainian community is still not adequately represented in government." (Novy Shliak, Mar. 29, 1987 reported by Joe Forsters Associates, Don Mills)

This is a most thought-provoking statement. No one wants quotas. All seem to be agreed on this score. So if in a house of 100 senators, two of a given group are too few, should each of the more than 80 ethnic groups that form Canadian society be represented? How does one balance ethnicity with gender or with those factors more traditionally central to the democratic process as region, service to public - and hard political reality - service to the party?

A non-white or visible minority group made a somewhat similar claim, but theirs added yet another dimension to the issue. This may be called the intra-group dimension, as compared with the former - the inter-group dimension.

The argument was stated this way by its proponents:

> "While Sikhs make up about 73 per cent of the South Asian community in Canada, they receive less than 5 per cent of the government appointments that go to members of that community."
> (Globe and Mail, 28.7.88)

The dimension of the issue posed by the Ukrainian clain raises inter-group questions: How many Ukrainians as compared with Blacks should be in the senate? As everybody knows, Canada got its first Black senator three years ago, and, incidentally, since she is a woman, the number of women senators increased. How often should this two-for-one motif apply?

Furthermore, when an East Indian or South Asian is to be appointed a senator, will his/her claim come to the fore

before that of a Chinese? And after - or before? - all of that is resolved, how does one provide for Maritime representation over western representation, to say nothing of political party? To what extent would a given party in power be willing or prepared to appoint an ethnic from a rival political party?

The second issue posed by the Sikh claim, though allied, is thought-provokingly different. It reduces to this: since there is reason to believe that the Jamaicans are the largest of the Black group, should most of the appointments go to Jamaicans? And what of the Chinese, should we distinguish among them by country-of-origin factors and reward them accordingly in Canada? And what of the still newer groups such as the Southeast Asians and the Latin Americans?

An informal analysis of the situation among Blacks shows that of 12 Blacks who readily came to mind to the author as gaining significant appointments nationally, while three were Jamaican, the remaining nine came from as widely different countries of origin as Canada, Barbados, Trinidad, Grenada, St. Kitts, Guyana and the U.S.A. (two).

This phenomenon of intra and intergroup division was captured impassionedly by Dr. Bhausaheb Ubale, former Race Relations Commissioner in Ontario, when he said:

> "Personally, I wanted to make my contribution to this country as any other Canadian, but I cannot do that unless I enjoy the support of the ethnic group I came from ... I feel less Canadian than I did 10 years ago."
> (Globe and Mail, 4.6.88)

Another issue to be considered a dimension of the arithmetical factor is that of "like-representing-like". Ubale hints at it in his statement, although, in the situation to which he refers, it is forced on the citizens by circumstances either unanticipated or anticipated by government policy. But one can look at this matter of representativeness from the standpoint of the communities themselves. It may be called a voluntary subscription to the ideology.

This view appears frequently in the literature. Said the editor of a major Black newspaper:

> "We believe that Black candidates of any party can best present our needs. They know us and understand our sensitivities and desires." (Contrast, 25.4.85)

For purposes of this study, one can replace the phrase 'candidate of any party' with 'nominée of any ethnic or racial group', and put the question: when a South Asian is appointed Chairman of a provincial human rights commission or as a provincial ombudsman, to what extent the "likeness" he/she represents is (a) that of his/her ethno-cultural non-white group, (b) that of a majority of, if not all ethno-cultural non-white groups, (c) that of all Canadians on whose behalf the office is mandated to function?

In other words, what is expected by the government by way of the representativeness of the appointment? What is

expected by the ethnic communities as a whole? Of the specific ethnic community? Of the individual himself or herself?

This raises yet other issues, three of which will be presented in concluding this section, they are:

- the case of the authentic or inauthentic representative
- the coalition
- the perpetuated exclusion (or plus ça change plus c'est la même chose)

The authentic representative as compared with the inauthentic representative has been discussed at some length above; the specific aspect to which attention is drawn here is that of the representative from the same racial (or sex or socio-economic) background being placed in contest for election or appointment with what in one place was labelled "the benefactor"; that is, the person from another background, particularly the traditionally accepted background - male, Anglo-Saxon, privileged, old school tie network - who has proved his sincerity and sensitivity to the groups over the years and has represented them well. To what extent does ethno-racial similarity make one a more "authentic" representative than the other? And yet, this line of argument seems to be gaining some currency as one attempts to restructure society, the better to foster the participation of an increasingly wider spectrum of our society.

- the coalition. In the literature reference is frequently made to the role of a coalition of groups or some umbrella organization such as the Canadian Ethnocultural Council having the responsibility for collecting and forwarding to the governmental authorities the names of people they would recommend for appointment.

  At one level this is a commendable idea; however its promulgation does not rid the council of the challenge of solving the internal rivalries for appointment. There is no evidence that such a council - and no reflection on the council's integrity is intended here - will be any more objective or competent in choosing to nominate a South Asian over a Chinese for the one position on a Board.

- the perpetuated exclusion. This was expressed in the view that "the way society operates - like choosing like - (people from) visible minorities are shut out of government and corporate promotions". As can readily be seen, the argument here is that if the visible minorities, as they evolve a strategy to enter the mainstream, play the game of choosing their own to represent them, the traditional groups that form the mainstream will use the same technique to exclude the visible minorities from the more significant arenas in society.

Certain recommendations flow from the foregoing analyses:

(a) That government and citizen groups, while recognizing the significance of numbers in considering appointments to boards, commissions, and agencies do not lock themselves into an appointment-by-numbers situation.

(b) That coalition or umbrella organizations being formed to promote the civic participation of visible minorities, when considering nominations, give priority to the competence and performance of the individual over the ethnic or racial group that he/she represents. We cannot prevent the politics of numbers, but we can promote or foster conditions and/or attitudes that transcend the numbers game.

(c) That whereas coalition or umbrella organizations be allowed, asked or encouraged, to nominate candidates for appointments to boards, agencies and commissions, such coalitions and umbrella organizations not be or be seen as being the only vehicle of nomination.

(d) That a variety of coalitions, such as ethno-cultural umbrella organizations or professional associations, be encouraged to name candidates for appointments or election but that individuals be encouraged so to do so too, also to nominate themselves.

(e) That, in considering appointment or election to office, more attention be paid to the record of competence and the performance of the individual than to the source of the nomination - it being recognized that the source cannot necessarily be ignored.

(f) That, in making its appointments or in considering nominations, government make clear the role that the umbrella and other organizations will play in the process. (What we have in mind here is the argument that while the bar association may send forward the names of people to be appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada, or the provinces for appointment to the Senate, the power to decide does not rest with any of these but resides in the government and/or the prime minister and his/her advisors. In short the limits on the power to nominate should be <u>clearly</u> spelled out.)

(g) That, without precluding the right of organizations and groups to promote the notion that like is the better representative of like, every attempt be made to get such groups or associations to see that "it ain't necessarily so". At the same time, all concerned should be encouraged to understand the part such thinking plays in the evolution of social responsibility.

(h) That all persons concerned - government officials, politicians, ethnic leaders, members of the various ethno-cultural groups - be encouraged to think in terms of the "community of interest" as compared with the "community of identity", this to be done without a necessary denigrating or downplaying of the importance of community of identity.

Issue No. 4:

The Selection - the Criteria and Methods Thereof

This is perhaps one of the most crucial issues in the whole area of civic participation:

- Who selects the candidate? the government? a coalition of ethnocultural groups? a major ethnic organization? a low profile ethnic organization? an individual sponsor? Or, does the candidate select himself/herself?

- And what criteria are to be used? - ethnicity? broad regional representation? expertise in the area? a generalist's knowledge of the field? possessing a community base? certain personality traits? political party affiliation and service?

- And by what methods? by soliciting names? by advertising? by serving at earlier points in the escalator at which the rewards are minimal or non-existent?

- And what part does timing play? the right person in the right place at the right time?

- And how is the final decision made or to be made?

All of these are complex and difficult questions to which to find answers.

So many criteria - many of them vague and unstated - seem to play a part in the selection process! Some argue for giving precedence to the "qualities of the person" over his/her ethnicity or party affiliation but one would have to determine the qualities sought.

The following statement was culled from a newspaper clipping:

> "La compétence devrait constituer le seul criterè en matière d'embauche."

Another statement supported voting on demonstrated performance not on a name and not on the "high profile" of the candidate.

There is also the question of the individual's social status. The quest can be looked at from the standpoint of immigrant status versus Canadian born, or from that of social and economic class. With regard to the former, immigration status, one needs to consider the weight to be given to the candidate's being an immigrant and working hard in the immigrant community compared with the Canadian born. For instance, should care be taken to balance the number of awards going to Canadian born Chinese with those going to immigrant Chinese from Hong Kong? In this same connection would the nomination of a Chinese of Jamaican origin be seen

as position going to Jamaica and other Jamaicans or to China and other Chinese - to say nothing of the Taiwanese!

Then there is the weight to be given to party affiliation. For instance, it is suggested that in Calgary and Edmonton, some visible minority groups such as the South Asians and Filipinos are the most active politically of the visible minority groups, and are overrepresented on some provincial government boards and commissions (immigration, human rights, cultural heritage). The claim is made that very few Blacks take an active part in politics and accordingly few are appointed to commissions and boards.

The manner of selection and criteria for selection appear to vary. Although it is possible that there may be a number of overlapping factors, appointments seem to occur in a number of ways:

1. candidates align themselves with federal and provincial politicians and become active in the affairs of the local ridings;

2. candidates involve themselves in a number of informal networks/community groups, and become knowledgeable about community issues;

3. candidates are deliberately solicited because they bring influence, prestige, expertise, and financial assistance to the board/commission.

A proposed model for improving the selection process follows:

Proposed Model

1. Selection Board is established for each board/commission. The Board strikes a screening committee. Members of the committee develop criteria to screen potential candidates and identify systemic blocks which restrict appointment of visible minorities to certain boards. Using the criteria, the screening committee solicits names from a wide catchment pool. Nomination could be solicited from ethno-cultural groups, professional associations, other formal and informal networks/associations, and advertisements.

2. The Committee approaches possible candidates who sumbit resumes for review by it.

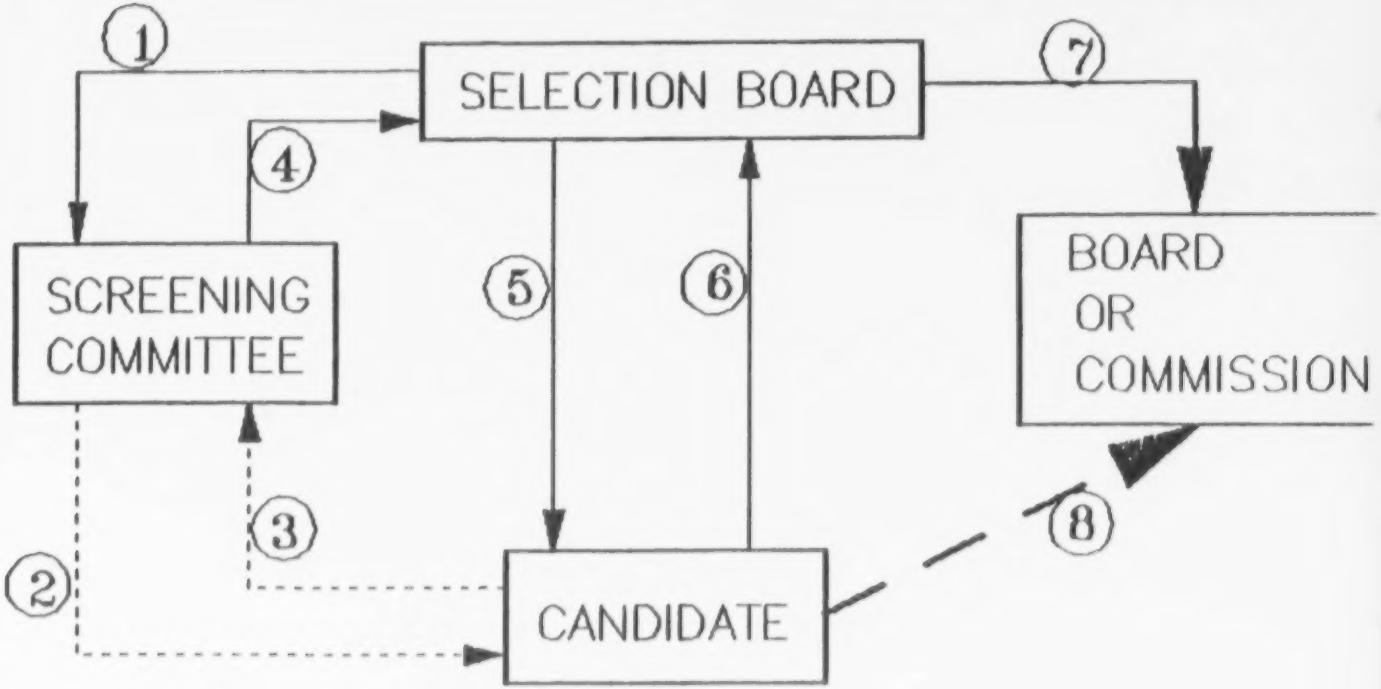
3. & 4. The Screening Committee reviews and short lists possible names of candidates for submission to the Selection Board.

5. & 6. The Selection Board identifies candidates to be interviewed and conducts interviews.

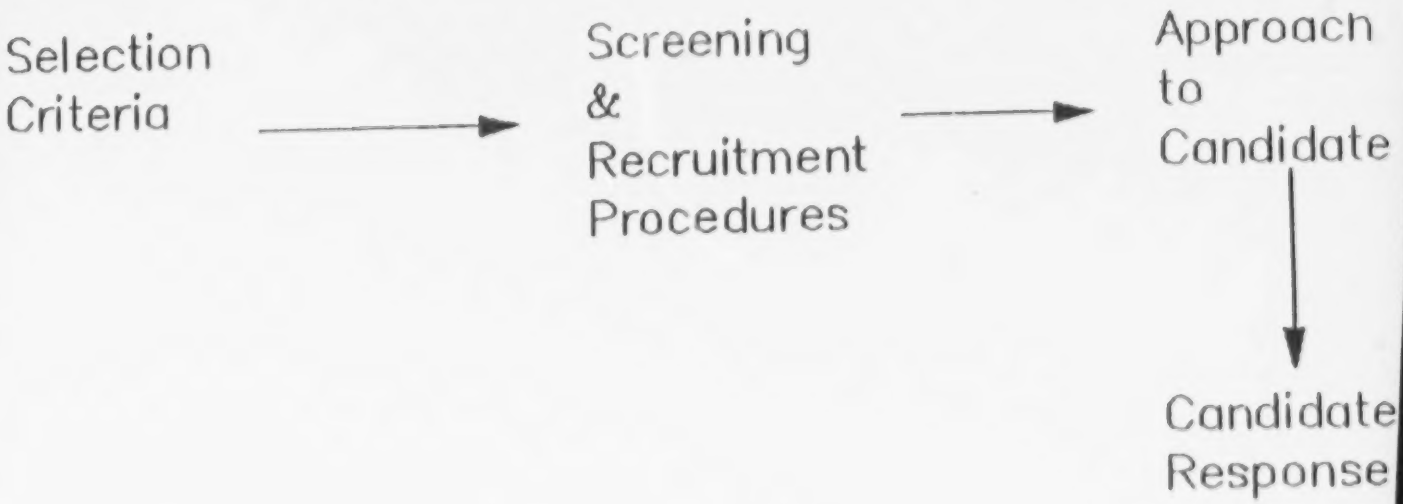
7. & 8. Candidates are then selected/rejected more on basis of criteria established (such as competence, and expertise) and less on ethnic/racial grounds. Candidates selected decide whether to accept or reject offer to sit on Board/Commission.

The accompanying diagrams illustrate both a model for choosing candidates and the process of appointment.

MODEL FOR CHOOSING CANDIDATE



PROCESS OF APPOINTMENT TO BOARDS & COMMISSIONS



Issue No. 5

Racism

There is little new that anyone can say about racism - its existence, the perception of its existence, its deleterious effects, the need to eradicate it. And to the extent that hitherto excluded members of our citizenry begin to be included in civic affairs either by election or appointment, or to get jobs in hitherto closed areas, to that extent is our society becoming a more open one, one in which the rhetoric of opportunity gives way to its reality.

But certain statements from the newspaper clippings present the old problem of racism albeit expressed in somewhat fresh terms:

- "un comité des minorités visible (est) raciste dans son essence" - said by an ethnic minority person coming forward for consideration.
- "visible minorities are in fact the invisible members of our society."
- "Racism so permeates Canadian attitudes and institutions that many people unconsciously accept it as the natural order of life in this country. Most candidates are blissfully unaware of the vast dimensions of the problem."
- "Racism endemically permeating Canadian society, attitudes and institutions is the greatest barrier to civic participation in Canada".
- "felt/unfelt racism."
- "the negative images of a people that (certain institutions) perpetuate."

- "Subtle institutionalized racism exists in government bureaucracies and in the employment situation and it is an open secret among all of the ethnic minorities."
- "The immigrant backlash" (What the person meant here was not the backlash by the majority against the immigrant, but the backlash of the immigrant against the system.)
- "We all understand the game - we have the feeling that you feel that we are incapable of understanding."
- "A change has begun to take place at the grass-roots level."

Put embarrassingly simply then, the issues having to do with racism reduce to the following which are stated as recommendations.

1. That appointments and/or election to agencies, boards and commissions be used creatively by those responsible for making or promoting them to fight racism in our society; however,

2. that in considering appointments to such agencies, boards, commissions, or encouraging participation in elections, both those in authority and the citizens themselves not see the value of the candidate as lying primarily within his/her racial qualities.

3. That additional strategies other than appointment and election be developed to fight racism.

4. That, the competence of the individual having been given, sincere attempts be made to appoint persons to agencies, boards and commissions in spheres other than those in race relations and immigration. (One researcher in Great Britain has pointed out that race relations, multi-cultural and human rights commissions, in the final analysis, are not very strong or powerful in effecting fundamental social change.)

Put crudely and using Canadian examples, a Southeast Asian as a member of the Northern Pipeline Agency, a Chinese on the Canadian Grain Commission, a South Asian on Teleglobe Canada - India has the largest movie making industry outside the U.S.A. - and a Black on the Atomic Energy Control Board or the International Development Research Centre, this is the stuff of which meaningful and "breakthrough" appointments are made, rather than ethnocultural association nomination or bureaucratic recommendation to yet another human rights, race relations or multicultural council; for surely the issues of pipeline transmission of gas, shipment of western grain, interglobe communications and the peaceful or destructive use of atomic energy are as of much concern to Blacks, Chinese, East Indians and Southeast Asians as it is to the Anglo-Saxon, the German or the Finn.

A final word and recommendation before this issue is left:

> Some serious analysis should be done of the role of the so-called ethnic power brokers, to see to what extent the support of them may, in reality, be an exercise in racism.

One newspaper article contained the following statement: "The old style (ethnic) brokers, men with whom the (party) government in Ottawa could deal, trading grants and favours for votes, are now irrelevant, (having been) overtaken by a new generation of pushing, self-confident minorities who are now, collectively, the majority".

And another journalist pointed out that there is now a younger breed of ethnics who, running hard and tough for themselves, are refusing to play the old game of being loyal and subservient ethnics. They are aggressive; they may be alienating as a result, but they believe that this is their chance to make today's society reflect that diversity that is its spirit and soul.

In short, appointment and election of the <u>right</u> person for the wrong reason can reflect racism.

Issue No. 6:

A Question of Equality

Underlying the matter of the participation of citizens - visible minority or not - in the decision-making process is the issue of (a) equality of opportunity to participation and, (b) access to that opportunity. So representatives of the system talk about there being a place for everyone to make his/her contribution, a new openness at city hall or in the legislative assembly or an increased presence at the decision-making level. On the other hand, some visible minority citizens talk about "the barriers", visible or invisible, that constitute a denial of that opportunity.

In the preceding section one discusses the specific barrier of racism; here one considers the invisible barriers that are there. One community representative expressed it as follows:

> "When you are on the wrong side of the barrier, you sense it. If you are on the other side, in the so-called in-group, you do not quite know exactly where that fence is.
>
> An individual who is trying to get into that in group or the dominant society, or make it within it, has to give up something of what he is in order to become part of the melting pot of that dominant society."

Two powerful notions reside in the quotation: (a) the invisibility of the fence but its presence and (b) the changing of identity that comes with that representation.

Put the issue another way, the person quoted is arguing that when, for example, a member of the visible minorities - Black, Chinese, South Asian, Southeast Asian - first breaks through that invisible barrier, if ever he or she does, there still remains the problem of the extent to which he/she becomes assimilated and no longer a clearly identifiable or an authentic representative of the hitherto excluded group(s) of fellow citizens.

This latter point - the loss of ethnic identity - was poignantly expressed by a non-white elected legislator when he spoke of his "being swallowed up in the swirl", his having had to "adopt a second face", of the acceleration of his assimilation, and of his having to adopt that second face as "the bitter price for citizen participation".

One of the most powerful invisible barriers through which <u>all</u> concerned will have to make a <u>psychic</u> breakthrough is the notion that visible minority persons are interested only or primarily in appointments to agencies, boards, commissions, etc. having to do with racial, human rights or multicultural issues. Most of the names the researchers

have succeeded in collecting of people holding such positions are of those found chiefly on multicultural or similar councils. But, many may ask, why not on councils having to do with international trade, or defence policy? Why not on aviation councils where, today, so many international routes exist? Indeed, there is desperate need for imaginative strategies to be developed to overcome such invisible barriers to appointment or election.

There are other problems emerging from the issue of equality. These may best be captured by the following slogan-like statements that appear in the newspaper articles.

- equality means no special concessions
- equality implies demonstrated commitment to policies, not to handouts
- equality does not mean the recruiting of high profile candidates
- equality means the doing away with (the eradication of) the closed shop, old boys network, traditional group image
- pork barrel equality (i.e. equality to patronage plums)
- equality for the minorities calls for a sense of obligation, of fairness and of decency on the part of the majority.

Before this issue of equality is left, one can profitably look at another sub-issue that was found only once in the literature but it is powerfully intriguing, namely the notion that there is, or there is accepted as being, "an ethnic pecking order".

One article mentions the fact (is it a fact?) that people from the visible minorities are usually on the lowest rungs of the socio-economic scale; another, that some groups are more ready to take up leadership than others. One person, highly intelligent, to whom the author spoke expressed the view that the government prefers to appoint citizens from some groups over those from others.

The author spoke to a senior elected municipal official, who with conviction made the point that if two candidates came forward for nomination to appointment and they were both equally qualified, but one was white the other non-white, the non-white would get the position as far as his nominating committee and his municipality were concerned. When asked what would happen if both were non-white but came from two different ethnic groups - Chinese and East Indian, for example, - he paused in his hitherto impassioned expressing of himself, hesitated then said, with a smile, "That's a good question! ... Fortunately it has not happened yet."

When pressed to hazard an answer he said that his nominating committee would go over the dossiers and attempt to force a differentiation, then make the decision.

But the point remains and it gives rise to the following recommendation:

> That government and all other parties concerned adopt measures to discount the view that in Canada there is an ethnic pecking order.

In 1971, when on October 8 a multicultural policy for Canada was initially promulgated, one of the first principles stated was that no ethnic group takes precedence over any other. Almost two decades later, this principle needs to be re-affirmed.

Issue No. 7:

The Competition and the Divisiveness

While the arithmetical issue raises the question of how many are too many, the specific focus of this section is the divisiveness, the jealousies, the interracial rivalries to which the numbers game can and does give rise.

These matters are not referred to often in the literature, but they surfaced occasionally. They were, perhaps, best expressed by Bhausaheb Ubale when he said:

> "(The creating of a new class of political power brokers within each ethnic group) ... is frightening ... This has created jealousies and in-fights within a particular ethnic group ... I see today more intracommunal and intercommunal fights than I witnessed 10 years ago ... (W)e may be heading for an unpleasant situation."

The situation is exacerbated by the opportunism of political parties in persuing the ethnic vote, and by their recognition of outspoken individuals of a particular ethnicity or race as power brokers or gatekeepers. This was analyzed quite thoroughly by the focus group described later on in this report.

The following recommendation is made:

that an umbrella organization be funded to develop strategies to minimize inter- and intra- community divisiveness and strife in the course of fostering increased minority participation in civic affairs.

Issue No. 8:

Civic Participation or Ethnopolitics?

Earlier one raised the question of the difference between civic participation and political participation. Here one takes the issue of political participation further and points to the view held by many people spoken to but also frequently expressed in the literature; namely, that in many cases appointments to agencies, boards, and commissions, regardless of the level of government, is no more than a subtle - some claim not so subtle - attempt to buy the ethnic vote. There is almost a cynicism with which such appointments are viewed.

The new term "ethnopolitics" was discovered in the newspaper material; to this can be added that of "instant ethnics"; there was talk of "ethnic bloc voting", about someone being "a key figure in a cartel of ethnic politicians". To these new and imaginatively figurative terms one adds the familiar ones of "ethnic leader" and "ethnic power broker"; and the new (?) position in the election machinery of a non-ethnic candidate - that of the "ethnic campaign (assistant) manager", the person whose responsibility is to canvass the ethnic vote on behalf of the candidate.

Ethnopolitics has become a reality at the level of electoral politics simply by virtue of the facts that first, the ethnic populations have increased given the change in sources of immigrant recruitment; second, the ethnic vote, as one journalist pointed out, "has always been courted by all political parties during an election". "Yet", the journalist continued, "the issues of importance to ethnic communities have for the most part, been of low priority with all levels of government". (Emphases added)

Ethnopolitics have been a vital part of party politics in the Prairies for a number of years. The report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, indicates that political parties have courted the ethnic vote, particularly in regions where the non-British, non-French populations represent a significant proportion of the voting population (1969: 74-77). The concept of ethnopolitics has been extended from an initial concentration on the involvement of Ukrainian and northern European ethnic groups to visible minorities. In Alberta, interest in capturing the visible minority vote surfaced in the late 1970's. Visible minority participation in the political process appears to occur in assisting with the nomination of a mainstream candidate, namely, a nonvisible minority. In Calgary, for example, in areas in which the visible minority and immigrant populations are quite sizeable, visible minority power brokers are said to play an important role in the nomination and subsequent election of federal, provincial, and municipal representatives. Visible minorities supposedly played an instrumental role in the

election of Dr. Alex Kindy (Calgary East MP) and, more recently, in the nomination of provincial Progressive Conservative representative, Lee Richardson. (Calgary Herald articles, May 16, 1988 and August 13, 1988.)

A third factor in this complex area of ethnopolitics is the fact that a new breed of young, aggressive, highly qualified people are coming forward as politicians and exploiting their ethnic roots to the full. They often come forward as candidates themselves; but failing that, they work as part of the party bureaucracy or volunteer staff, again with a special appeal to their fellow ethnics - hence the label "ethnic manager".

Where the candidate for political office is not an ethnic, it behoves him/her to find yet further means of appealing to the ethnic vote. So, overtly ethnic candidates or political workers come forward to participate in the political process, persons whose ethnic characteristics are exploited and exploitable.

Since, however, party politics cut across ethnopolitics, and since no candidate hoping to win can depend solely on his or her ethnocultural group, ethnopolitics take on a number of interesting intracommunity and intercommunity dimensions.

If the foregoing analysis applies mainly to electoral politics, the issues of ethnopolitics are nonetheless,

present in the area of appointments to agencies, boards and commissions. For example:

- A Black businessman is appointed to the board of directors of a major government corporation, and newspapers go to great pains to point out he was "a friend" of the Prime Minister because they had gone to the same university.

- A South Asian is appointed Chief Commissioner of Human Rights at a provincial level, and the question arises, Is he/she of the governing political party?

- A member of another visible minority is appointed to a prestigious three person commission - and a public function sponsored by the appointee's ethnic group is chosen by the politician guest-speaker to make the surprise announcement, as evidence of his government's commitment to equality of opportunity.

The politicians love it! The ethnics love it too! As one reported, "We understand the game!"

This politicization of ethnicity seems, at the moment, to be becoming more intense and much more can be written about it here. It suffices, however, to look beyond propositions of exploitation and attitudes of cynicism to a fascinating hypothesis advanced by one of Canada's leading

political journalists, Richard Gwyn, who sees ethnopolitics as part of the process of social maturation that many ethnic communities are experiencing (See the Ottawa Citizen 14.8.84 p.8). Following this maturation comes the process of their political liberation from the old-line, old-fashioned party affiliations and networks.

Thus a "two-stage" hypothesis is advanced:

- at the first stage the ethnic groups gain confidence to vote for or support their own;

- at the second stage they acquire the maturity to vote for or support a candidate because of his/her qualities, not his/her ethnicity.

Can this hypothesis not be applied in the area of appointments, both to those making them and to those seeking them, whereby support for the candidate having been based initially on factors of ethnicity, one eventually arrives at the stage two level of maturity where the candidate is named because of personal qualities - what was referred to in one newspaper article as "the value of the man" - and not because of ethnicity?

Miscellaneous Issues

A miscellany of issues was hinted at from time to time in the literature. They were not developed. Five of them are presented here. They intrigue.

1. Sometimes many communities do not know (or care?) when a member of another community gains a breakthrough appointment. For example, a number of people in Ontario do not know or care that the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario is a Black man. Their attitude is: what's the big deal! Indeed a "mainstream" acquaintance regretted the fact that ours is a society in which such an appointment is still big news.

2. Another aspect of this issue surfaced in B.C. when the first Canadian of South Asian ancestry was elected to the Legislature. The news article states:

> "His election has meaning for all minorities. 'I can serve as a model to people who think ethnic origin is an obstacle of some sort. My experience demonstrates that is not the case.'" (B.C. Times-Colonial 26.10.86)

What is intriguing about the excerpt quoted is that by the time Moe Sihota was elected to the Legislative Assembly, two Blacks, Rosemary Brown and Emery Barnes, had already served - the former for some 12 years.

Consequently, one would have thought that by then all non-white minorities in B.C. would realize they too could run and be elected. But Mr. Sihota's statement implies that it is not until an East Indian comes forward and wins that other East Indians can feel they have a chance.

Put another way, the issue becomes one of believing that it is not until a member of one's <u>own</u> is there, that one can be there!

3. The role of the private sector and the dynamics of the market place call for some study. One person said that ethnic voters and other groups on the fringe of society would be brought into the mainstream by the process created by the private sector; another, that minority markets will change attitudes.

These views pose the plausibility that the private or market sector can make a significant contribution. If so, there may be some influence that government can bring to bear on the private sector to facilitate the civic participation of visible and other minorities in Canadian society.

4. "We need a plan that says how they will go about (doing what they say they intend to do".) This person is saying, enough of the rhetoric, give us a plan.

5. And some citizens are creating their own plans. They constitute what one may very well call the "acronymics"! One cannot help being struck by the several groups that are functioning in this respect. There are:

FAME - Forum for the Awareness of the Minority Electorate - based in Manitoba.

PAVE - Political Awareness of Visible Ethnics.

MOME - Movement of Minority Electors - based in Ontario.

MOVE - (Meaning not spelled out.)

MACU - Minority Alliance for Canadian Unity - an Ottawa group.

How strong such organizations are; how they originate; whom they represent; how long they survive are all issues worth exploring. Their merit lies in the fact that they are the attempts of some citizensor groups of citizens to act - and on their own initiative!

Summary

The issues appear to fall into the following three major themes:

1. The Nature of the Beast:
   What is civic participation? Equality? Is it participation? or ethnopolitics? Is it a question of forms of racism?

2. The Selection Process:
   What is the role of such factors as time, the numbers game, the selection criteria and methods?

3. The Outcomes and Effects - (Positive/Negative)
   - Co-optation
   - Systems maintenance
   - Social change
   - Divisiveness and competition - between and within groups.

Chapter IV:

VIEWS OF PLAYERS IN THE FIELD

Insights were sought from sources beyond the literature. Several significant players in the field were consulted by the researchers. What is presented here are the results of those consultations -

- with municipal civil servants and an elected official;

- with a very senior provincial official whose desk is one of those to which files on prospective appointees go just before the final rounds of *in camera* decision making;

- with a focus group of persons drawn from the four ethnocultural groups that are the target of this study. This dinner-discussion was held at the Faculty Club of the University of Toronto.

An important discussion of patronage appointments also took place on a CBC radio phone-in show in which the host interviewed attorney Noel Bates on his study of the area for the Canadian Bar Association. This was broadcast at 1:00 p.m. on August 5, 1988.

Interview with a Municipal Manager

It is her view that demographic factors give rise to some pressure; then an institutional response is made from organizations such as Mayor's Committee on race relations. That response may be for policies or programs. Frequently the result is the appointment of a high profile individual to a "relevant" board.

Some times the high profile individual serves as the catalyst for the issue(s) brought on by demographically caused pressure; the high profile individual also becomes (or may become) the one who get the jam appointment.

She has some concern about the kind of appointments now being made. She feels that often the appointment is made as a result of pressure instead of the focus being the qualifications of the appointee. Sometimes - frequently now - the appointee is really not qualified; and so destined to fail, he/she fails; thus the self-fulfilling prophecy of the "group's" incompetence is fulfilled.

She felt that many appointments are, or seem to be, political pay-offs or means of "buying the ethnic vote" and wonders about the ethics of the entire system or practice. In her view there must be a way of identifying and recruiting individuals with the necessary expertise.

Furthermore, she was concerned about the many racial and few(er) ethnic appointments were being made, that is to say, that more people seemed to be being appointed because they were Black, East Indian or Chinese, and fewer Italians or Ukrainians - the so-called white "ethnics". She wondered if it was a case of its being viewed as the turn of the non-whites now. Such a policy, she believed, impairs the system.

The manager is, herself, a member of one of the minority groups under study.

Interview with a Municipal Director

She feels that it is very difficult to get visible minority people to apply. It is the method of recruitment that is failing. She feels that practical concrete strategies of recruitment are needed.

In the past, communication was usually put out by the municipal government to get people to apply. These advertisements appeared in the major mainstream dailies where they were read by the people familiar with English.

But those people did not realize they should or could apply. So it was decided to have the communication appear in the "ethnic" (ancestral/language) press. The press release was translated into 12 languages and sent out. The release was also put on the wire services so that at 8:30 a.m. on a certain day there was the news flash: "Mayor Committee wants ...". The response was enormous.

By changing strategies, that is, developing ways and means of getting directly to likely candidates, the response of those interested in applying went from 50 in 1987 to 150 in 1988.

However, she found that more than half of those who applied were really not suitable. While their reason for applying was because of a great desire to help, a majority of them did not have knowledge or expertise in the area for which membership was being recruited - for example, service on a milk marketing board.

She has a major concern: most of the people who will make good members of boards and commissions are new - facing new problems trying to get settled. Where they are serving voluntarily, they are already doing so in their ethnocultural organizations, which greatly need them. To what extent, then, she wonders, should or could these organizations be raided to supply people to serve on wider "mainstream based" organizations?

She feels that we need to remember that even for the major mainstream agencies, for example, United Way, the percentage of mainstream people who want to serve, in other words, the recruitment pool, is small; yet we expect the ethnic population - smaller in numbers in any given group - would provide a large pool from which to draw. She questions the logic of this attitude.

Interview with an Elected Official

The alderman spoken with chairs the committee that sends the names of the prospective appointees through to Council. His views support those of the staff. He feels that it is important to have visible minorities as membersof agencies, boards and commissions because, in a democracy, all citizens should participate in the governing of themselves.

His nominating committee consists of five aldermen. In past there tended to be some 3,000 applicants, regardless of ethnic/racial background, applying for the limited number of positions. Council decided to hold briefing seminars on a given commission. The public attended, then decided for which one to apply. Application forms were available at the seminar. Those who applied and were short-listed were interviewed.

He too has certain concerns. For instance, the Executive Committee wants "quotas" or "targets" of some sort, for specific groups; but he feels one should be realistic. If two candidates are equal in qualifications, the nod, in his view, goes to the visible minority person.

Council wants the best people to sit on boards and commissions - obviously. He comments on the quality of candidates: sometimes they are good, sometimes disappointing.

There are those commissions, or boards which have a "serious" mandate and responsibility and pay an income, others less "serious". In other words there is a hierarchy of responsibility, importance, and reward among boards, and this influences who comes forward for consideration.

He feels that the message that City Hall is accessible needs to be gotten across better. This may be best done on a one-to-one basis whereby the elected official takes the message out into the ward in person and through the key ward institutions.

The slogan "You too can help run City Hall" was placed prominently in bus shelters, but this was not a great success. Ethnic newspapers and ancestral language media were more successful vehicles.

His summary view is that people still feel intimidated and uncomfortable when approaching City Hall, so their becoming involved in its governance is still problematic. But Council is trying.

Interview with a senior provincial official

A telephone call was all it took, and despite her extremely pressing schedule, she would be willing to discuss the matter of appointments. She was frank, forthright and co-operative - hedging no question asked.

"Did you know that a few years ago it was decided to make public these books?" The author did not; had never seen the books, but knew they existed. He had been told they were very confidential, that they were called the Blue Book and that they resided in the Premier's office and the offices of ministers!

The books to which she referred are now two huge black binders. In them are arranged by ministry, all of the agencies, boards and commissions that are the responsibility of a particular Ministry. But, more than that, clearly outlined under each board, agency or commission are:

- a statement of the mandate;
- whether the appointments are the responsibility of the Minister or the Premier;
- the names of each member and the date of expiry of each appointment;
- how much the position pays in terms of per diem honoraria and expense accounts.

Furthermore, it is the responsibility of the Clerk of the Legislature to update these books every six months. Updated copies are placed in the Library of the Legislature and so are available to the public.

From this it follows that anybody - individual, civic group, ethnocultural group, or whatever - can go to the Library of the Legislature, see what vacancies are coming up and, if interested, apply. As she explained: "The citizen can take the initiative; come in to see the document and say, 'I should like my name to stand'".

This was news to the author because right up to the moment this information was given, it had been his impression, and the impression of many people he knew, that such compendia were so secret that one did not know if one was even supposed to know that they existed.

She claimed that all of this was a step in the new direction of "open government". She did not (or could not?) tell where the idea originated; but the source of the idea is rather immaterial because the significant point is that it is all there for those who are interested to see and to take advantage of.

Not to be outdone, the author pointed out that few people, if any, knew of these procedures.

She pointed out that an incredible number of people indicate their interest; as a result a "terrific" amount of paper work is involved in processing candidates and appointments. Many people are not really aware of this aspect of the problem; namely, the size of the bureaucracy that is, or may be, involved in carrying out the mandate in the best possible way.

She spoke of the difficulties of getting the kinds of people one wants to come forward, of the fact that although people were "unbelievably" honoured and pleased to be called and to be appointed, the fact remained that in reality the exercise was one in public service - so limited were the financial rewards in terms of per diem honoraria and expense accounts. In other words, while she did not put it this way, the work and other demands of appointment far out-weighed the financial returns in most cases; hence anyone pushing to get on a board, commission or agency needed to realize that by and large, it was hard work - for only symbolic pay!

She felt that, generally, very good people werecoming forward, whatever the avenue along which they travelled to get there. She felt that the number of good people being appointed had increased, but she was aware that one could "always do better".

She was asked about evaluating the performance of the appointee. She paused reflecting, then said, "If ever you find out how this can/may/should be done, I'd be glad to learn!"

She pointed out certain obstacles in the path of evaluation: to whom does one go for the evaluation? What happens - as frequently does - if members of a board hold significantly differing views on certain issues of social policy, for example, extra billing? Does one go for an evaluation of a given member's service to those persons on the board, who hold the same position? or does one elicit an evaluation from others with whom the person to be appraised frequently clashed as a result of differing ideological positions held.

In short, it was her view that the only way any worthwhile kind of evaluation of appointees could be made was by making sure that very good people were appointed in the first place, and leaving it at that - beyond looking, of course, at such obvious things as record of attendance. She also felt that there would be tremendous difficulty in determining the criteria by which "significance of contribution" could/should be measured.

She pointed out that in these days there were more candidates for any one position than there were positions for candidates; hence, beyond trusting the judgement of the proposer and the ministers, there was little one could objectively do.

Her views can be summarized:

(a) Appointments, positions, etc. are now an "open" process to a great extent.

(b) Provision is made for the individual person or group to take the initiative in seeking an appointment.

(c) There are potentially more candidates than positions to be filled; and the difficulty is exacerbated by a desire to achieve some balance of representation in terms of criteria such as gender, age, and region.

(d) Evaluation of individual performance, while intellectually plausible is, in reality, virtually an impossiblility - if not unnecessary.

(e) While progress has been made, it is recognized that still more is to be pursued.

She concluded on an intriguing philosophical note. She said that it was not so much a question of what system there was in place; it was more a question of "pushing for justice and fairness and the sharing of opportunity".

CBC interviews an attorney researching appointments

For a number of years, Mr. David Shatsky has hosted a public affairs show at noon on the CBC. He invites an "expert" in some area of contemporary interest to make a brief presentation and to answer questions phoned in. He too poses questions. The show originates in Toronto, but the audience is a national one.

On August 6, 1988, his guest was Mr. Noel Bates, a lawyer and member of the Ontario division of the Canadian Bar Association. Bates discussed research a team he headed had conducted, on behalf of the CBA, into the whole issue of patronage appointments. The fundamental question was:Should we change the way appointments are made; or, is the system fine just the way it is?

Briefly put, here are what some of the callers said:

- We should do nothing about the issue. We already have a large bureaucracy; so, if a bigger bureaucracy is needed to do the job of selecting, then we should forget it.

- The system is really not hurting anyone - every government does it when its turn comes.

- Not all political appointments were as tainted as was claimed. This caller, herself, while a member of the governing party, did not get her appointment as a sort of political re-imbursement of any kind; instead the appointment has given her a chance to do something for her community. She has held the position for some four years now; it has been a lot of work and her only rewards have been (a) the fact that she is making a contribution to her community and is learning a lot. She sees nothing wrong with its being a political appointment.

- Another caller would like to see a fundamental change wherein appointment was based on merit and ability and not on fund-raising capacity.

- Generally appointments went to businessmen and/or lawyers, who had a limited view of the field; they lacked expertise or understanding of long term needs and tended to make their decisions on pragmatic grounds. This caller spoke specifically of research and development policy in Science.

- Yet another person felt that if a Minister has to take the flak for what happens to his/her policies then he/she should have the correlative right to appoint whom he/she felt would carry out his/her policies.

- The system was not good for the people. It should be based on open competition - politicians could recommend; but in the final analysis, there should be competition and selection.

In short, some people agreed with and accepted the system as part of a democratic political reality. Others felt it impaired competent decision making.

Appointments were discussed as a totality. There was only one reference to the affirmative action possibilities that lie in such practices.

Mr. Bates' arguments were very persuasive. His main points were:

(a) The scope of the issue was much vaster than many people realized. In Ontario there were more than 500 agencies, boards, and commissions. More than some 5,000 appointments had usually to be made over a given period.

(b) Not all boards, etc. were the same; some were statutory, some advisory. Some such as the Labour Relations Board, the Transport Board, and the Go-Transit System, dealt with major problem areas and gut issues. Some paid very attractive salaries - not symbolic per diems of $100 for a day's service, but $70,000 and more a year.

(c) The high paying positions should be advertised and the qualifications of the candidates rigorously assessed. One might consider, for example, the Chairman of the Ontario Energy Board whose remuneration was about $80,000 per annum. The public needed to be concerned before something could/would be done.

(d) The independence of the appointee should be considered; political affiliation may result in a competent or the best person not being appointed. (This proposition is a very debatable one. Some persons spoken to in the course of the study felt that <u>people are appointed to carry out the policies of the government</u>; that is to say, the government <u>must</u> appoint people on whom it can depend to do its bidding. G.W.B.)

(e) There is a lack of written criteria to which the public can look to determine who ought or ought not to be appointed. A professor at the University of Montreal has proposed, for Quebec,

that candidates have a minimum of ten years of professional experience; and that they serve for a period of at least seven years. In Newfoundland, as part of an affirmative action thrust, every other appointment goes to a woman; and definite formulae are applied as far as age is concerned.

(f) We need a "watch-dog" institution, a sort of commission of appointments that would monitor qualifications, the ability of the candidates and other objective criteria. Such a commission should be independent of political affiliation.

It was proposed also that such a commission might very well be responsible for training individuals who were to be sitting on such agencies.

(g) Such was the nature of the appointment process that competent or capable people were not really encouraged to come forward; for example, a three year term of office was too short a time for people to make changes that might have repercussions on their careers or that might have some impact on the bureaucracy.

A focus group on civic participation

A focus group consisting of nine members of the racial minority communities included in our term of reference (Black, Chinese, South Asian, Southeast Asian) was convened on September 12, 1988 at the Faculty Club of the University of Toronto. For a list of those attending, see Appendix IV. All of them have had significant experience in civic affairs, either as contenders for elected or appointed positions through the three major political parties or as leaders extensively involved in linking their ethnic community with government and mainstream institutions.

For three hours the group discussed nearly every aspect of non-white civic participation, drawing freely from their personal experience. Faced with rendering in writing the richness of their oral (tape recorded) remarks, we decided to present them in the form of the following 24 propositions. We have also indicated where each proposition ties in with the issues that emerged from the literature (see Chapter 3).

1.(a) Political affiliation should not play a major role in the appointment of the visible minority person to office.

If dues are be paid, they should not be only or always political dues - there are other dues that people pay, some having devoted a great deal of their life contributing to Canadian society.

(b) A countering proposition was advanced: We live in an age of competitive politics; consequently there can be no debate about a government having the right to appoint to office any person whom it wants, in order to carry out its policies. The only question then is that of the person's competence.

A democratic system cannot work except by "greasing the wheels"; for that reason one's political affiliation is important; and patronage appointments have to be made. (Issue No. 8*)

2. The important thing is NOT who occupies what position but how one comes to be there - that is a question of the process.

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* To facilitate the understanding of the problem, these points are related to the Issues presented in Chapter III. Each of which issues is identified by a number. Readers may do their own cross referencing of these propositions and the issues. Not all propositions may be found to fit neatly into that set of issues.

In a regular and consistent fashion, government should advertise positions to be filled on boards and commissions.

Instead of depending solely - or as much as it does - on its community contacts or on ethnocultural umbrella organizations, government should take the time to find the names of visible minority people who have done things and compile its own list of such achievers, drawing therefrom when it wants to make appointments.

Government should set up its own data bank of possible candidates by going back some 20 years and studying the contributions that various people have made. (Issue No. 4)

3. There are <u>gate-keepers</u> who, because they may not like you, prevent your nomination from going through. (Someone spoken to on another occasion argued that there are those people who, having gotten an appointment, make sure that another of their own kind does not. That interlocutor used the term "gate-keeper".)

<u>A few people</u> are becoming the power-brokers of the whole community. (What was implied here was (a) that this be recognized, and more particularly (b) either consciously or unwittingly, government was contributing to this situation by the way it handled appointments. (Issue No. 7)

4. Government (or the wider community?) feels that when one visible minority person has been appointed or elected, that is sufficient proof of equality of opportunity and accessibility. In reality the visible minorities should ask, "Why not two?"

   Some persons argued that there is a tendency for the establishment, when challenged, to say, "We have so-and-so here. Why do we need more?"; so the same turbanned Sikh or same Black or Vietnamese person is "displayed" everywhere as proof of the liberalism of our society. (Issue No. 3)

5. With the demography of Canada changing, who will be the visible or invisible minorities of the 2000's? With many currently labelled visible minorities doing very well from a socio-economic standpoint, the government has to pay attention to ethnicity.

   As the proposer put it, "They/we have no choice as Canadians" but to do so.

   And another said, "Who knows what the colour of Canada will be like when we are dead and gone - but we are beginning to address it." (Issue No. 3)

6. In talking about elections and/or appointments, the tendency exists for the "establishment" to expect the visible minority communities and their

representatives to conform to the former's notion of the social structure and the social aims or programs to be pursued; so the visible minorities have to plan their strategy to fit into those of the majority; however, as Canadians the visible minorities also want to modify the end-point.

In other words, it should not be appointment with "business as usual", but with a recognition that new structures, aims, programs, etc. will come into play. As the person who put forward this idea claimed, "The establishment tells one this is the route to go. But who are they to tell me that? We are all the we"! (Issue No. 3)

7. The injudicious use of appointments, and/or elections, to boards, commissions, and agencies is leading or can lead into intergroup rivalry and eventual violence between ethnic groups.

Civic participation can be judiciously used to offset such prognosticated violence if it is made to go hand in hand with civic education; that is to say, the excluded need to be brought into the fold and provided civic education that shows how the system works. (Issue No. 7)

8. It is quite unreasonable for the government, because of administrative convenience, to expect a homogeneity of view in a given visible minority group or among groups; this reflects a colonial mentality.

Was there supposed to be a representative view to be found in this study for Blacks or Chinese or South Asians? To expect homogeneity in so diverse a group as Southeast Asians was even more far fetched.

Government will have achieved a degree of maturity in looking at visible and other minority groups when it is recognized that two Blacks or two Chinese can agree with one another over issues. (Issue No. 7)

9. Frequently there are differences in the expectations of the incumbent - there are those that the ethnic community hold of him/her; that the government holds; and that the individual holds. Frequently there is a marked divergence between the community expectations of and the political expectations for, the visible minority appointee. (Issues Nos. 5 and 6)

10. When the ethnic community sees a very mediocre person appointed (it was not clear if the proposer meant regardless of the ethnicity of the appointee), the community wonders why not a better one from among them, or whether the person is being set up to fail. (Issue No. 4)

11. There tends to be "over and above" expectations of the visible minority appointee. He or she is expected to be "dazzling", whereas the same criteria are not applied to a member of the mainstream. If, for example, a white person on a committee says little or

nothing, he/she is considered "reflective"; if a visible minority person does the same, he/she is considered incompetent. (Issues Nos. 5 and 6)

12. Canada is one of the most closed societies. As such it is controlled by a small group and functions on the basis of tutelage, that is to say, that opportunity comes your way only after you have been deemed to have paid your dues, and on the concept of "you-don't-rock-the boat", that is, your conformability.

In this society, the Anglophones and the Quebécois establishments are "terrified" of the qualified minority candidate who knows all about the system and how it works. In other words, the qualified visible minority person is considered a threat who will make noises and not be tractable. (Issues Nos. 6 and 8)

13. Too many appointments of visible minority persons are made within the multicultural-race relations-human right mode.

It was pointed out that a 1981 study in Ontario showed that 84% of all appointments went to Anglo-Saxons, 7% to French Canadians, the remaining 9% to "ethnics" both "visible" and "invisible" and, of the visible minorities the majority, if not all, were in the multiculturalism et al mode. (Issues Nos. 5 and 8)

14. There is nothing called the mainstream anymore; we are all in and of the mainstream.

This was a most persuasively put argument. The proponent asked, "Do you realize how much of our life we give or have given to society before we are appointed? We have more than contributed to the society and so we should not still be using up so much energy - energy that is being lost - trying to prove, all the time, that we are Canadians". (Issue No. 3)

15. In many cases appointments reflect merely tokenism. (Issues Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 8)

16. In making these appointments, Government asks advice of the appointees but does not take the advice. (Issue No. 1)

17. Government may be prepared to appoint visible minority persons to agencies, boards and commissions, but rarely as chair or vice-chair. (Issues Nos. 5 and 6)

18. One's ethnicity rather than one's contribution seems to be currently the dominant criterion in considering a person's candidacy for appointment. (Issue No. 8)

19. One political party is seen as using "ethnopolitics" to break the monopoly of the other party and so set up a dynasty of its own. In other words, the ethnic vote is now the key to the ascendancy of the political parties. (Issue No. 8)

20. Visible minority peoples need to recognize - or to be made to recognize? - that they need to develop their own strategies; nobody can do it for them.

    Visible minorities need to develop networks or coalitions among themselves. (Issue No. 8)

21. Government may be focussing too much on the issue of ethnicity in a study such as this, for example, in its concern about opportunity and access, when there are other areas besides that of appointments to agencies, boards, and commissions that should be explored and developed as indicators of change.

22. Many agencies, boards, and commissions mean little. Often the attitude has been "There's a problem? Let's create a commission or board and keep the people happy. Let them have cake." Therefore attention needs to be paid to really more significant areas, such as how powerful bureaucrats, the deputy ministers, for example, are appointed. (Issue No. 1)

23. Distinctions need to be made among <u>civic participation</u>, <u>political participation</u> and <u>social participation</u>, and their interrelation studied.

    Further steps should be taken to determine the relationship between civic <u>participation</u> and civic <u>education</u> and appropriate and relevant strategies be developed.

Civic education, as a means of raising consciousness to get involved as a citizen, is central to civic participation. (Issue No. 1)

24. If a more open society were created, and more people given a chance or made to see the need to get involved as citizens in the communities where they live, to contribute, for instance, to the provision of a swimming pool, or to improve the block parents program - there will be eventually a wider pool of "citizen participators" from which "civic participators" - as defined in this study - will eventually come; because "civic participation depends on civic consciousness; and civic consciousness is community consciousness." (Issue No. 1)

Chapter V:

FRAMEWORK FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In approaching the study of civic participation of racial minorities in Canada, we find few if any precedents. The art, if it exists, is at best embryonic. On the one hand, Canadian political scientists have not demonstrated as much interest as their American counterparts in the topic of civic participation or even participatory democracy. On the other hand, racial minority communities (native peoples not included) were not seen as actors on the Canadian political stage until very recently. The Equality Now! report (1984) of the House of Commons Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society had the effect of making people of colour visible at last in the political picture - visible as participants rather than as problems.

As we have argued, the civic participation of racial minorities is currently a function of the redistribution of power as the ethnic and racial demography of Canada changes. However, it is possible to study the phenomenon, as it were, in a static situation, and to gain measures of the kinds and degrees of non-whites' participation in civic affairs and especially of their knowledge of civic affairs. Such a study would be based on a random sample of the non-white communities proposed for this exploratory study -

Black, Chinese, South Asian and Southeast Asian*. This kind of study, however, yields no great explanatory power, and as we argue later on, would have to be supplemented by a study of individuals who have either attempted to gain or succeeded in gaining public office whether by appointment or by election.

A static study of civic participation of non-white communities could be modelled off the impressive work of Sidney Verba in which he measured political attitudes (1969) and participation (1978) in several democratic countries. For our proposed study, some four non-white communities of Canada would occupy the dimension of the five to seven countries covered by Verba and his collaborators.

An illustrative list of indicators adapted from Verba is given below:

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* For purely research reasons, we believe Filipinos would be a more fruitful group to research than the Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, Malays, Thai, Burmese). Filipinos have settled longer in Canada, are occupationally more distinct and have a critical mass in four provinces.

	Blacks	Chinese	South Asian	South-East Asian
Community Activities Inside/ Outside Racial Community				
1. Active members of organization engaged in developing the community or solving community problems				
2. Worked through organization ...				
3. Helped form organization ...				
Usage of officialdom				
1. Contacted local official with others				
2. Contacted local official on personal matter				
3. Contacted extralocal official with others				
4. Contacted extralocal official on personal matter				
Voting				
1. Vote in local election				
2. Vote in provincial election				
3. Vote in federal election				

Campaign activitiess	Blacks	Chin-ese	South Asian	South-East Asian
1. Canvass for a candidate				
2. Attended rallies or meetings				
3. Given money to a poliitcal party				
4. Display/distribute signs/ literature				
5. Member of political club or organization.				

The random sample from selected non-white communities should also be utilized to probe the following:-

a) understanding of concepts such as volunteerism and "paying one's dues"

b) knowledge of opportunities for participation

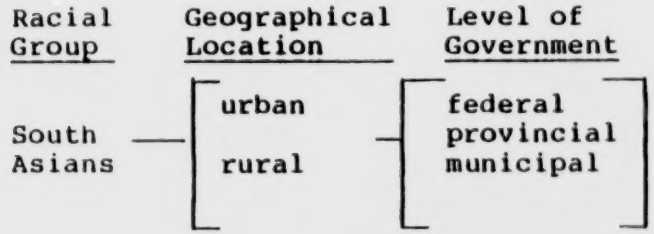
c) social class, income, education, etc. as factors in civic participation

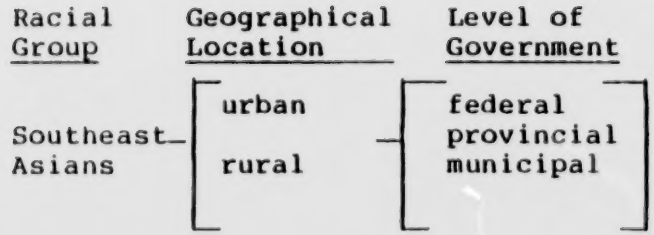
d) dynamics of moving from intra-ethnic to multi-ethnic or "non-ethnic" civic participation.

The information gathered should provide a basis for designing civic education programs in the respective communities, with a view to their overcoming current barriers and improving their future participation in civic affairs.

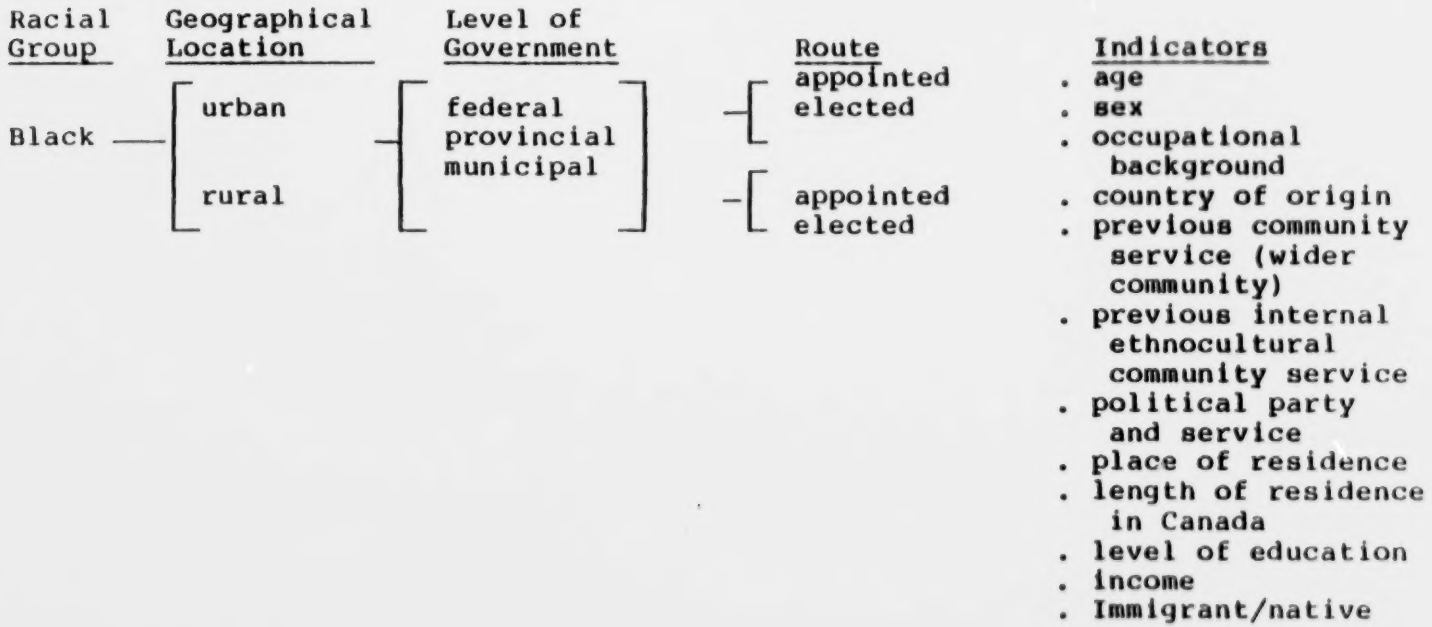
The sample should be large enough to enable the schema on the two following pages to be followed:

Schema for conducting/Empirical Study of
Civic Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (Cont'd)





Schema for conducting /Empirical Study of
Civic Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society



A Canadian researcher, David C. Niece, drew on Verba's concept of political culture in preparing a study in 1978 for the Secretary of State entitled Ethnicity and Canadian Citizenship. A part of this study dealt with political efficacy (the citizen's ability to operate the political party system) and bureaucratic efficacy (the citizen's ability to access services provided by government). The efficacy of four groups in Metropolitan Toronto was measured - Portuguese, Italian, French and United Kingdom.

According to Niece, political efficacy has four essential layers. The outermost is interest, next comes discussion, in third place comes voting, and the fourth and innermost layer is direct campaign and party involvement (p.109). Bureaucratic efficacy concerns the individual's ability to deal with large government agencies as well as his or her treatment by government officials. Niece also measures how long after landing immigrants take to apply for citizenship. He tested "the general idea that taking out citizenship papers is both a consequence of establishing fuller participation in Canada, and of being granted fuller participation in Canada (p.79)."

Although there are numerous studies of immigrant adaptation to Canada or their social integration into the host country, very few have touched on their participation in social or political organizations. One such study is Three Years in Canada, the first report of the longitudinal survey on the economic and social adaptation of immigrants, by

Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974. It was found that 31% of the respondents were active members of an association at the end of their second year of residence in Canada. Of this number, 66% were members of associations with Canadian-born members in the majority, while 24% joined associations comprised of people from their country of origin. Immigrants from Britain, the U.S.A. and Australia joined associations at the rate of 43 to 53%, followed by immigrants from India (31%), Germany (28%), France (23%), the Phillipines (24%), West Indies (23%), and Greece (21%). Less than 15% of immigrants from Italy, Portugal, Hong Kong and Taiwan were reported members of associations.

Unfortunately from our point of view, the researchers did not correlate this variable, membership in associations, with other variables in the study. We would have wished in particular for a correlation with the variable on sense of belonging to Canada and also with perceived relative social position in the community. The feeling that social position had fallen was greatest among the more highly educated newcomers, whether they were working in their own occupation or not, though more pronounced among the latter. University-trained persons not working in their intended occupation felt the loss of status particularly sharply (p.84). Whether this would affect their sense of belonging and their participation in social or political associations should definitely be inquired into in a future study.

In March 1982 a quantitative measure of ethnic representation on boards in Ontario was made by a task force of the Advisory Council on Multiculturalism and Citizenship. Using a random sample of boards to which appointments are made by Order in Council, the task force found that membership was 77.2% British, 5.1% French, and 17.7% Others. By comparison the Ontario population, according to the 1981 census, was 52.6% British, 7.7% French and 39.7% Others. The 84 boards studied were categorized by function:

Advisory	-	26
Regulatory	-	31
Operational	-	27

However, the report provided no breakdown by ethnic membership for these categories.

A study based on a sample of non-whites who now serve on boards, agencies and commissions would yield quantitative and qualitative levels of current civic participation, and would set targets and objectives for future participation. Categorization of the boards ("boards" will be used to include agencies, commissions, etc.) will vary, as indicated by examples below, according to the particular focus at the time. Identification of non-white members, following the acquisition of membership lists of each board in the sample, could be: -

1. EXTERNAL - by panels of ethnic leader. (This methodis used in several U.S. studies.)

2. INTERNAL - by heads of boards or responsible officials; by self-identification. (This method might require permission by human rights commissions.)

In a future study, non-white membership on boards could be presented on a matrix of their function and their policy fields, as follows:-

	Science & Technology	Communi-cations	Arts & Culture	Social Services	...	...
ADVISORY						
REGULATORY						
OPERATIONAL						

The availability of qualified candidates could be broadly assessed from the occupational and educational profiles of the non-white labour force. This could be followed by a table showing the representation of each of the four target communities by policy field

Taking a more "political" focus appointments of non-whites by ministry by province could be presented, as well as by federal departments by region. At the municipal level, appointments may be shown by policy field, although there are

1. EXTERNAL - by panels of ethnic leaders. (This method is used in several U.S. studies.)

2. INTERNAL - by heads of boards or responsible officials; by self-identification. (This method might require permission by human rights commissions.)

In a future study, non-white membership on boards could be presented on a matrix of their function and their policy fields, as follows:-

	Science & Technology	Communi-cations	Arts & Culture	Social Services	...	...
ADVISORY						
REGULATORY						
OPERATIONAL						

The availability of qualified candidates could be broadly assessed from the occupational and educational profiles of the non-white labour force. This could be followed by a table showing the representation of each of the four target communities by policy field

Taking a more "political" focus, appointments of non-whites by ministry by province could be presented, as well as by federal departments by region. At the municipal level, appointments may be shown by policy field, although there are

other fruitful ways to categorize boards. An opportunity to attempt this is presented in Appendix V, which gives a complete list of boards appointed by a medium-sized municipality.

A sample of non-white individuals should be drawn from the boards previously analysed in order to explore by standardized questionnaire:

(1) the criteria for membership

(2) the process for selection.

The responses of these individuals could be compared with responses gained by interviewing key persons involved in nominating and selecting appointees.

It is important to test the hypothesis that visible minorities are restricted to advisory boards and to boards dealing with minority concerns such as multiculturalism, human rights, race relations, assisted housing, policing, immigration. Many valid inferences may be drawn from the objective data generated from the sample of boards, including inferences about fields and levels from which particular ethnic groups are excluded. The subjective data to be generated from the sample of individuals by questionnaire survey should serve as a check or validation of these inferences.

The model of formal and informal co-optation developed by Selznick and discussed in our opening chapter could be tested with this sample of non-whites serving on public boards. However, co-optation also occurs in political parties and voluntary associations. It may be possible to draw a sample of non-whites holding office within these organizations in order to add them to the sample drawn from board members. It would be instructive to find out in what fields and what levels formal and informal co-optation occur, and what racial groups are most affected.

To assist the groups in formulating their own strategy to achieve greater participation, we should assess their perception of how effectively they now participate. We now return to the model developed by Sherry Arnstein which we discussed in Chapter One - the ladder of citizen participation. A progression of steps is envisioned, ranging from membership on a board on which one is manipulated (in reality, non-participation), to token membership where one is at best only providing information or consultation while being displayed as a representative of one's ethnic group, to meaningful membership where one is a full partner in exercising power or making policy.

Analysis could be made of non-whites collectively and of each of the four groups separately per policy field as follows:

DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION	Human Rights	Education	Foreign Policy	.....	.....
6					
5					
4					
3					
2					
1					

Each level of government or region could be treated separately in the above model.

Although these proposals for future research are focussed on participation on boards appointed by governments, they apply also to political parties and to voluntary organizations. The sampling frame for the three major political parties federally and provincially and for a wide variety of voluntary organizations is not easily managed. Attempts should be made to assess non-white participation as candidates for nomination and/or election, as well as their tenure in positions in the bureaucracy of the parties. With the voluntary organizations, non-white representation should be assessed on boards of directors as well as on executive, administrative, professional and volunteer staff.

Finally, the most profound issues in this most complex field can be illuminated only by case studies prepared through in-depth interviews with individuals whose lives have been shaped by their long experience in civic affairs. Two of the present researchers include themselves in this group, and this accounts in part for the personal style in which much of this report has been written. Included in this group would be some who had unsuccessfully tried for appointments or who were defeated in nomination or electoral contests. In the course of this project, we began to identify such individuals, particularly in the Maritimes and in Quebec. We would be pleased to share this list with future researchers.

We believe that a full-sale empirical study of civic participation by visible minorities is as much in the interest of majority as minority Canadians. The study will lead to a profound re-examination of citizenship and of participatory democracy in Canada, and may very well shape the vision of the just society we wish to become. The opportunity should not be lost.

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A :Elle peut signifier un regroupement des citroyens de ces communautes en vue d entreprendre certaines civiques par ticulieres.

Il faudrait consulter les organisa tions communautaires les plus dynamiques pour en savoir davantage sur le sujet.

B :La participation civique peut se definir comme

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La Presse (Quebec)
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Le Droit (Quebec)
The Winnipeg Sun (Manitoba)
The Prairie Link
Vancouver Sun (Biritsh Columbia)
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Contrast (Ontario)
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The Chronicle-Herald (Nova Scotia)
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Appendix I

Population of Visible Minorities
By Province

TABLE 1

TOTAL POPULATION OF VISIBLE MINORITIES BY SELECTED BROAD ETHNIC/RACIAL GROUPS, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1981

BROAD GROUPS	CANADA	NFLD.	PEI	N.S.	N.B.	QUE.	ONT.	MAN.	SASK.	ALTA.	B.C.	YUK	NWT
1. BLACKS	239,460	210	60	5,745	595	52,550	151,005	5,735	1,620	12,740	9,060	65	85
2. CHINESE	299,920	725	180	1,735	955	20,070	122,590	7,475	7,420	38,230	100,075	225	235
3. JAPANESE	46,060	-	-	115	45	1,630	18,480	1,515	275	6,000	17,910	40	-
4. KOREANS	22,565	70	-	45	-	800	14,175	645	185	2,910	3,710	-	-
5. FILIPINOS	75,485	330	-	350	165	4,870	36,665	12,050	1,005	7,555	12,565	-	110
6. INDO-PAKISTANIS	223,235	845	90	2,025	850	17,410	108,140	5,705	2,490	23,095	61,500	100	90
7. WEST ASIANS & ARABS (1)	112,435	430	335	3,945	1,135	36,905	48,790	1,380	1,185	10,795	6,520	-	35
8. SOUTHEAST ASIANS (2)	53,910	80	45	455	555	16,235	17,635	2,530	2,025	8,345	5,950	-	50
9. OTHER 1. LATIN AMERICANS	50,230	45	-	115	45	11,830	25,685	1,995	830	5,290	4,350	-	30
2. INDONESIANS & OTHER PACIFIC ISLANDERS	8,530	-	-	-	-	85	1,495	90	85	1,340	5,410	-	-
TOTAL VISIBLE MINORITIES	1,131,825	2,750	720	14,530	4,360	162,190	545,660	39,115	17,095	117,195	227,040	490	675

- NUMBERS TOO SMALL TO BE EXPRESSED.
TOTALS MAY NOT EQUAL THE SUM OF COMPONENTS DUE TO ROUNDING AND SUPPRESSION.
(1) INCLUDES LEBANESE, NORTH AFRICAN ARABS, SYRIANS, PALESTINIANS, EGYPTIANS, TURKS, IRANIANS, ARMENIANS.
(2) INCLUDES VIETNAMESE, CAMBODIANS, LOATIANS, MALAYS, THAI, BURMESE.

SOURCE : UNPUBLISHED DATA, 1981 CENSUS OF CANADA
PREPARED BY : TECHNICAL SERVICES, EMPLOYMENT EQUITY BRANCH, CEIC
DATE : MARCH 1986

TABLE 3

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF VISIBLE MINORITIES BY PROVINCE, 1981

AREA	VISIBLE MINORITIES	
	COUNT	%
CANADA	1,131,825	100.0
NEWFOUNDLAND	2,750	0.2
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	720	0.1
NOVA SCOTIA	14,530	1.3
NEW BRUNSWICK	4,360	0.4
QUEBEC	162,190	14.3
ONTARIO	545,660	48.2
MANITOBA	39,115	3.5
SASKATCHEWAN	17,095	1.5
ALBERTA	117,195	10.4
BRITISH COLUMBIA	227,040	20.1
YUKON	490	-
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	675	0.1

TOTAL MAY NOT ADD UP TO 100% DUE TO ROUNDING.
- NUMBERS TOO SMALL TO BE EXPRESSED.

SOURCE : UNPUBLISHED DATA, 1981 CENSUS OF CANADA
PREPARED BY : TECHNICAL SERVICES, EMPLOYMENT EQUITY BRANCH, CEIC
DATE : MARCH 1986

TABLE 4

REPRESENTATION OF VISIBLE MINORITIES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1981

CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA	TOTAL POPULATION	VISIBLE MINORITIES	
		COUNT	%
CALGARY	587,025	47,890	8.2
CHICOUTIMI - JONQUIERE	134,390	485	0.4
EDMONTON	650,895	51,360	7.9
HALIFAX	275,750	9,560	3.5
HAMILTON	537,645	20,230	3.8
KITCHENER	285,145	12,030	4.2
LONDON	280,060	9,260	3.3
MONTREAL	2,798,040	146,365	5.2
OSHAWA	152,690	4,485	2.9
OTTAWA - HULL	711,920	36,715	5.2
QUEBEC	569,005	3,875	0.7
REGINA	162,390	5,320	3.3
SAINT JOHN	112,400	1,540	1.4
SASKATOON	152,265	5,445	3.6
ST. CATHARINES - NIAGARA	301,565	5,850	1.9
ST. JOHN'S	152,475	1,540	1.0
SUDBURY	148,695	2,145	1.4
THUNDER BAY	119,720	1,690	1.4
TORONTO	2,975,495	404,795	13.6
TROIS-RIVIERES	110,500	760	0.7
VANCOUVER	1,250,610	173,300	13.9
VICTORIA	229,500	11,470	5.0
WINDSOR	243,645	12,180	5.0
WINNIPEG	578,625	35,320	6.1

SOURCE : UNPUBLISHED DATA, 1981 CENSUS OF CANADA
PREPARED BY : TECHNICAL SERVICES, EMPLOYMENT EQUITY BRANCH, CEIC
DATE : MARCH 1986

TABLE 5

ETHNIC/RACIAL COMPOSITION OF VISIBLE MINORITIES, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1981

BROAD GROUPS	CANADA %	NFLD. %	P.E.I. %	N.S. %	N.B. %	QUE. %	ONT. %	MAN. %	SASK. %	ALTA. %	B.C. %	YUKON %	N.W.T. %
TOTAL VISIBLE MINORITIES	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. BLACKS	21.2	7.6	8.3	39.5	13.6	32.4	27.7	14.7	9.5	10.9	4.0	13.3	12.6
2. CHINESE	26.5	26.4	25.0	11.9	21.9	12.4	22.5	19.1	43.4	32.6	44.1	45.9	34.8
3. JAPANESE	4.1	-	-	0.8	1.0	1.0	3.4	3.9	1.6	5.1	7.9	8.2	-
4. KOREANS	2.0	2.5	-	0.3	-	0.5	2.6	1.6	1.1	2.5	1.6	-	-
5. FILIPINOS	6.7	12.0	-	2.4	3.8	2.9	6.7	30.8	5.9	6.4	5.5	-	16.3
6. INDO-PAKISTANIS	19.7	30.7	12.5	13.9	19.5	10.7	19.8	14.6	14.6	20.5	27.1	20.4	13.3
7. WEST ASIANS & ARABS (1)	9.9	15.6	46.5	27.2	26.0	22.8	9.1	3.5	6.8	9.2	2.9	-	5.2
8. SOUTHEAST ASIANS (2)	4.8	2.9	6.3	3.1	12.7	10.0	3.2	8.5	11.8	7.1	2.6	-	7.4
9. OTHER 1. LATIN AMERICANS	4.4	1.6	-	0.8	1.0	7.3	4.7	5.1	4.9	4.5	1.9	-	4.4
2. INDONESIANS & OTHER PACIFIC ISLANDERS	0.8	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.5	1.1	2.4	-	-

- NUMBERS TOO SMALL TO BE EXPRESSED.
TOTALS MAY NOT EQUAL THE SUM OF COMPONENTS DUE TO ROUNDING AND SUPPRESSION.
(1) INCLUDES LEBANESE, NORTH AFRICAN ARABS, SYRIANS, PALESTINIANS, EGYPTIANS, TURKS, IRANIANS, ARMENIANS.
(2) INCLUDES VIETNAMESE, CAMBODIANS, LOATIANS, MALAYS, THAI, BURMESE.

SOURCE : UNPUBLISHED DATA, 1981 CENSUS OF CANADA
PREPARED BY : TECHNICAL SERVICES, EMPLOYMENT EQUITY BRANCH, CEIC
DATE : MARCH 1986

Appendix II

Advertisements for
Vacancies on Boards

(can run:AM-F) (sds:AM-D) (ds)

City of Toronto

You Too Can Help Run City Hall

Due to the resignation of a Member of the Board of Directors, Non-Profit Housing Corporation (CityHome), the City of Toronto is seeking applicants to fill the remainder of the term in a three-year appointment which expires on November 30, 1988.

City Council wishes to ensure that its committees, boards and commissions reflect the diverse nature of Toronto's population and invites all residents to consider this opportunity. Since women, people with disabilities, and racial and ethnic minorities have been under-represented in the past, applications from these groups are especially encouraged.

The City of Toronto's procedure requires that anyone interested in appointment, **must** attend an introduction seminar relating to the agency, where application forms will be available.

The Introduction Seminar for the Non-Profit Housing Corporation will be held:

Wednesday, February 10, 1988
at 7:00 p.m.
in the Council Chamber, City Hall

For further information regarding application procedures, you may call the Secretary of the Nominating Committee at 392-7022. TDD/TTY users: 392-7354. The Nominating Committee will recommend qualified candidates for this position. Only residents or ratepayers of the City of Toronto are eligible. Attendance at the introduction seminar *is a pre-condition to applying for appointment.*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

You Too Can Help Run City Hall

Every year Toronto City Council advertises for applicants from the public and appoints citizens to various committees, boards and commissions that make decisions on a variety of matters, such as the management of public facilities, the physical layout of the City, and the development of community services. These appointments give Torontonians from a variety of backgrounds a chance to volunteer their skills to help run the City.

City Council wishes to ensure that its committees, boards and commissions reflect the diverse nature of Toronto's population and invites all residents to consider this opportunity. Applications from women, people with disabilities, and racial and ethnic minorities are especially encouraged.

The City of Toronto's procedure requires that anyone interested in appointment, other than incumbents, must attend an introduction seminar relating to the agency of interest, where application forms will be available. The dates of the seminars are listed below for those agencies for which appointment must be made at this time.

Agency	Time	No. of Vacancies	No. of Incumbents Applying for Reappointment
An Introduction Seminar for the following agencies will be held on Thursday, October 6, 1988, in the Council Chamber, City Hall, at the times shown.			
Board of Health (1 year term)	7:00 p.m.	2	2
Non-Profit Housing Corporation (3 year term)	8:00 p.m.	6	6
City Cycling Committee	9:00 p.m.	7 (2 year term)	5
		1 (1 year term)	0
An Introduction Seminar for the following agencies will be held on Thursday, October 13, 1988, in the Council Chamber, City Hall, at the times shown.			
Committee of Adjustment (3 year term)	7:00 p.m.	9	8
Toronto Recycling Action Committee	8:00 p.m.	6 (3 year term)	1
		1 (1 year term)	0
An Introduction Seminar for the following agencies will be held on Thursday, October 20, 1988, in the Council Chamber, City Hall, at the times shown.			
Parking Authority of Toronto (3 year term)	7:00 p.m.	5	5
Planning Advisory Committee (3 year term)	8:00 p.m.	6	4
An Introduction Seminar for the following agencies will be held on Thursday, October 27, 1988, in the Council Chamber, City Hall, at the times shown.			
St. Lawrence Centre for the Arts (3 year term)	7:00 p.m.	11	10
Toronto Historical Board (3 year term)	8:00 p.m.	5	4
Toronto Public Library Board (3 year term)	9:00 p.m.	5	4

The Nominating Committee of City Council will recommend qualified candidates for these positions. Only residents or ratepayers of the City of Toronto are eligible. Attendance at the introduction seminar relating to the agency of interest is a pre-condition to applying for appointment.

If you have any questions regarding application procedures, you may call 392-7022.

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Appendix III

Training Prospective Board Members

Chinese Interpreter & Information Services
中文傳譯諮詢服務處

Head Office
58 Cecil Street
Toronto
Ontario
M5T 1N6
(416) 598-2022

Branch Office
11A Glen Watford Drive
Suite 11
Scarborough
Ontario M1S 2B8
(416) 292-7510

May 10, 1988
For immediate release

PRESS RELEASE

Leadership Development Program

As part of its Multicultural and Race Relations project for 1988, the Chinese Interpreter and Information Services will be offering a Leadership Development Program to prepare members of miniority groups for leadership roles and responsibilities.

The program was developed in response to the many requests it has received from mainstream agencies to recruit board members from the Chinese community and its difficulty in finding willing and suitable candidates.

The program will consist of a series of workshops introducing the basic skills needed for good boardmanship. This will be followed by placement of the participants on boards or committees of voluntary organizations for a minimum of one year. It is hoped that the participants can gain further hands-on training while serving the community.

To coincide with the recruitment of new boards of most agencies in the spring, the program will start in the fall with no more than 20 students from diverse ethnic backgrounds.

If you are interested in learning more about this program, please call 292-7510.

Contact Person: Lily Wang
Community Relations Coordinator
292-7510

A United Way Member Agency

Leadership Development Program

Background : Many mainstream agencies have recently started to outreach minority groups to recruit board members to better reflect the ethnic composition of the communities they serve. Very often, the same high-profile people are approached repeatedly while equally capable individuals are overlooked. Given the right exposure and opportunity for hands-on training, ordinary citizens could become the leaders of tomorrow and contribute to the community by sitting on committees and boards.

Objective : To prepare minority groups to become decision-and policy-makers by developing their leadership skills.

Goals :
a) To promote voluntarism and encourage minority groups to participate fully and equally in Canadian society.
b) To make policy-and decision-making bodies more representative of the communities they serve.
c) To create a pool of volunteers from which interested agencies can draw quality board and committee members.

Target Group: 20 people representing a cross-section of skills, interests and ethno-racial communities.

Structure:

a) Formal Program
Bi-weekly sessions covering topics such as:
Board of Directors - Functions and Responsibilites
Legal Issues
Meeting Procedures
Planning and Goal-setting
Financial Decision-making
Voluntary Board Staff Relations
Assertiveness Training

b) Placement
Participants will have the opportunity to gain hands-on experience by serving on a committee or board of directors for a minimum of one year after completion of the formal program.

.../2

Prerequisites: There will be a selection process based on the following criteria:

a) Understanding of the program's objective and goals.
b) Commitment of a minimum of one year to serve on a committee or board for 6-8 hours a month after completion of program.
c) Commitment to respect confidentiality of meetings observed or attended.
d) Ability to communicate effectively in English.
e) Willingness to work in a multicultural setting.

Cost : $5 per session

Schedule : 2-4 hour sessions every other weekend plus observation visits starting in the fall.

Chinese Interpreter & Information Services
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M5T 1N6
(416) 598-2022

Branch Office
11A Glen Watford Drive
Suite 11
Scarborough
Ontario M1S 2B8
(416) 292-7510

GOALS

* To assist members of the Chinese community in Metropolitan Toronto to make full use of available services, including services and facilities.
* To help them develop a practical knowledge of the cultures, lifestyles, and structures of the Canadian society.
* To promote community participation and voluntarism among them.
* To develop mutual understanding, acceptance, appreciation, and other cooperation between the Chinese community and other ethnic communities in Metropolitan Toronto.

PROGRAMS

1. Information and Referral Services
   - Information and Referral
   - Interpretation
   - Advocacy
   - Documentation

2. Newcomer Language and Orientation Classes
   - ESL and Citizenship Classes
   - Telephone Tutoring
   - Special ESL Groups

3. Community Development
   - Community Education
   - Recreational Programs
   - Volunteer Development
   - Networking With Other Community Groups
   - Advocacy
   - Senior Service

4. Community Relations
   - Multicultural Issues and Access to Service
   - Volunteer and Leadership Development
   - Fundraising
   - Membership

5. Family Support Services (Scarborough only)
   - Educational Forums and Seminars
   - Interpersonal Skills Workshops
   - Social Groups
   - Individual and Family Counselling
   - Service Referrals

SERVICE BOUNDARIES

* Metropolitan Toronto and Vicinity

FUNDERS

* United Way of Greater Toronto
* Canada Employment and Immigration Commission
* The Secretary of State of Canada
* Ministry of Citizenship
* Ministry of Community and Social Services
* Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto
* City of Toronto
* City of Scarborough

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Appendix IV

Focus Group Participants

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS
12th September, 1988

Persons were invited to this focus group because they had significant experience either as contenders for elected or appointed positions through the three major political parties or as leaders extensively involved in linking their ethnic community with government and mainstream institutions.

The discussion was facilitated by the principal investigator, Dr. George Bancroft. Those who attended were:-

Ms. Pamela Appelt (Black)
Citizenship Court Judge

Mr. Alex Chiu (Chinese)
Councillor, Markham

Dr. Kapu Desai (South Asian)
Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism and Citizenship

Mr. Audi Dharmalingam (South Asian)
Executive Director, University Settlement House

Dr. George Eaton (Black)
Founder, Organization of Caribbean Canadian Initiatives

Ms. Kamala-Jean Gopie (Black and South Asian)
President, Urban Alliance on Race Relations

Mr. Patrick Hunter (Black)
Television Producer, Columnist

Mr. Tuan Phung (Southeast Asian)
Former Executive Director, Vietnamese Association of Toronto

.OP
.DF GUEST.LST
.RV TITLE,FNAME,LNAME
.RV STREET
.RV CITY,PROV,CODE

15th August, 1988

&TITLE& &FNAME& &LNAME&
&STREET&
&CITY&, &PROV& &CODE&

Dear &FNAME&:

I have been commissioned by the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Sector, to undertake a preliminary study of the civic participation of visible minorities in Canada. The topic, you will agree, is as timely as it is intriguing. Very little has been published on it, and I believe nearly all the knowledge of it is the heads of people like yourself.

So I am inviting you and a few others to join me at a dinner party on Septemnber 12, from 6 to 9.30 p.m., at the Faculty Club of the University of Toronto, 41 Willcocks Street. Here we will exchange ideas, and, since all of us are active in various kinds of civic affairs, do some networking! My own intention is to derive a conceptual framework for analysing this novel area and for identifying gaps that need to be filled by further study and research.

Note well that this project is not related at all to the pending federal elections. The Multiculturalism Sector has a long term interest in the topic, stemming, I believe, from recomendations 6 to 10 in Equality Now!, and will consider a large scale empirical research project depending on the outcome of this preliminary study.

Please come prepared to discuss how visible minorities take part in voluntary organizations, how they get appointed to agencies, boards and commissions, how they get elected in municcipal, provincial and federal elections. What do you see as the factors encouraging or inhibiting civic participation? How would you raise the level of participation?

Let me know if you can come. Telephone me at home (491-4963) or at office (978-7838).

Sincerely yours,

.....
George Bancroft

.PA

Appendix V

One Municipality's
Boards and Commissions

CITY OF OTTAWA BOARDS, COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES
(summarized by Cyril Dabydeen)

A. Besides the regular Standing Committees of City Council, the City has a number of Boards, Commissions and Committees. These include the following:

1. Advisory Committee on Official Languages;
2. Advisory Committee on Visible Minorities;
3. Assessment Review Board - Redevelopment Changes;
4. Associated Canadian Travellers and Awards Night Organizing Committee;
5. Bank Street Business Improvement Area Board of Management;
6. Central Canada Exhibition Board of Directors;
7. Civic Hospital Board of Trustees;
8. Committee of Adjustment;
9. Community Centres Board;
10. Day Care Advisory Committee;
11. Design Committee;
12. Design Review Committee;
13. Disabled Citizens Advisory Committee
14. Environmental Advisory Committee;
15. Housing Corporation;
16. Lansdowne Development Advisory Committee;
17. Liaison Committee - City of Ottawa and School Boards;
18. License Committee;
19. Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee;
20. Market Committee;
21. Ottawa Charitable Foundation;
22. Ottawa Hydro Electric Commission;
23. Ottawa - Nepean Campsite Authority;
24. Ottawa Public Library Board;

25. Ottawa Winter Fair and Board of Directors;

26. Pineview Municipal Golf Course Board of Management;

27. Promenade Authority;

28. Property Standards Committee;

29. Recreation Committee;

30. Rideau Area Business Improvement Area Board of Management;

31. Rideau Mall Authority;

32. Riverside Hospital Board of Trustees;

33. Smoking By-law Advisory Committee;
34. Sparks Street Business Improvement Area Board of Management;

35. Staff Suggestion Awards Board;

36. Street Name Change Committee;

37. Superannuation Fund Board of Trustees;

38. Taxi Advisory Committee;

39. Visual Arts Policy Advisory Committee;

40. Westboro Business Improvement Area Board of Management.

B. BRIEF SUMMARIES OF THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE BOARDS, COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS ARE:

1. Advisory Committee on Official Languages

- to advise on the implementation of the bilingualism policy with particular attention to service to the public and the creation of a climate which would encourage and increase the use of French within the Corporation.

2. Advisory Committee on Visible Minorities

- to work towards the realization of a National Capital which will be a model City for harmonious race relations in Canada.

3. Assessment Review Board - Redevelopment Changes

- to hear appeals pursuant to the provisions of By-law Number 449-62.

4. Associated Canadian Travellers and Awards Night

   - to honour annually the outstanding achievements of Ottawa and area athletes.

5. Bank Street Business Improvement Area Board of Management

   - to improve, beautify and maintain municipally-owned lands, buildings, etc., in the area beyond what is provided at the expense of the municipality ... to promote the area as a business or shopping area.

6. Central Canada Exhibition Board of Directors

   - to promote industries, arts and sciences and to establish and hold agricultural, industrial, art and other exhibitions in the City of Ottawa.

7. Civic Hospital Boards of Trustees

   - to make policy decisions; to deal with budget matters; to deal with Finance; to manage and control the hospital including making all appointments to staff.

8. Committee of Adjustment

   - to hold public hearings to consider and issue decisions on such items as: applications for minor variances requesting relief from any by-law re Official Plans, Zoning By-law etc. Applications for permissions regarding non-conforming use etc.

9. Community Centres Board

   - to manage and control every community centre.

10. Day Care Advisory Board

    - basically to advise on day care needs in the City of Ottawa by any appropriate methods.

11. Design Committee

    - to administer provisions of By-law Number 79-74; to make or cause to be made, all investigations required relative to the exterior design of the building or structure; to issue Certificate of Approval of plans and specifications.

12. Design Review Committee

    - to review requests for a reconsideration of the Design Committee's decisions.

13. Disabled Citizens Advisory Committee

- to recommend the development of policies to City Council and to monitor their implementation; also to communicate disabled citizens' concerns to City Council and responsible for coordinating and disseminating information to the disabled community and the public regarding Council's decision.

14. Environmental Advisory Committee

- to advise on effectiveness of policies and programs of the City directed to the preservation of the quality of the natural environment; to advise on the state of the natural environment in Ottawa and its environs.

15. Executive Committee - City of Ottawa Non-Profit Housing Corporation

- to be responsible for housing-related land assembly; to co-ordinate, initiate and develop housing, housing programs and policies etc. (Note membership is open only to elected officials.)

16. Lansdowne Development Advisory Committee

- to prepare an outline of the priorities and development relative to all activities, present and future re Lansdowne Park.

17. Liaison Committee - City of Ottawa and School Boards

- to deal with all matters that would be of mutual interest to the Ottawa Board of Education, Ottawa Roman Catholic School Separate School Board, and to the City of Ottawa including a reciprocal agreement concerning the use of facilities.

18. License Committee

- to review the recommendation of the Chief License Inspector when appeals have been filed by the licensee under Licensing By-law L-6. (Membership is open only to elected officials.)

19. Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee

- to assist the City of Ottawa in a continuing advisory role for the ongoing protection, conservation, regulation, and enhancement of all aspects of heritage throughout the City of Ottawa.

20. Market Committee

- to conduct hearings re suspending or revoking of licenses, its decisions being subject to review by Council of the licensee appeals. (Membership is open only to elected officials.)

21. Ottawa Charitable Foundation Board of Trustees

- to accept and administer grants, gifts, requests, personal or mixed property of every kind for the Ottawa Charitable Foundation.

22. Ottawa Hydro Electric Commission

- to control and manage the construction, operation and maintenance of all works undertaken by the Corporation for the distribution and supply of electric power or energy. (Limited to three members.)

23. Ottawa - Nepean Campsite Authority

- to adopt and administer policies, rules, construction, development and other regulations respecting the operation of the park (as contained in a 1970 agreement between Ottawa and Nepean).

24. Ottawa Public Library Board

- to establish rules for the use of libraries and facilities under its control (e.g., fines for breach of rules); to ensure efficient library service; to deal with hiring of staff, annual budget, etc.

25. Ottawa Winter Fair - Board of Directors

- to hold an agricultural exhibition to include competitions among all classes of livestock and other agricultural products; to foster improved urban-rural relations within the agricultural industry; to aid in the promotion and marketing of agricultural products in the community.

26. Pineview Municipal Golf Course

- to set the policy and monitor the operation as a Board.

27. Promenade Authority

- to construct, maintain, control, operate and manage pedestrian promenades within the City.

28. Property Standards Committee

- to hear and make decisions on appeals against orders issued by Property Standards officers.

29. Recreation Committee

- to conduct a recreation program. (Open only to elected officials.)

30. Rideau Area Business Improvement Area - Board of Management

- to improve, beautify and maintain municipally-owned lands, buildings and structures in the area beyond what is provided at the expense of the Municipality; to promote the area business or shopping area.

31. Rideau Mall Authority

- to construct, maintain, control, operate, and manage the Rideau Mall within the City of Ottawa.

32. Riverside Hospital Board of Trustees

- to make policy decisions; to deal with the budget; to manage and control the hospital including making all appointments to the staff.

33. Smoking By-law Advisory Committee

- to promote non-smoking areas and encourage patrons to request separate smoking and non-smoking areas in restaurants.

34. Sparks Street Business Improvement Area Board of Management

- to improve, beautify and maintain municipally-owned lands, buildings and structures in the area beyond what is provided at the expense of the Municipality; to promote the area as a business or shopping area.

35. Staff Suggestion Awards Board

- responsible for receipt of suggestions from staff; investigation of review of each submission and recommendations on the value of each submission. (Membership drawn from retired senior officials of Corporation.)

36. Street Name - Change Committee

- to hear parties interested in street name-changes or afford them an opportunity to be heard in the place and stead of Council.

37. Superannuation Fund Board of Trustees

- to administer the City of Ottawa Superannuation Fund.

38. Taxi Advisory Committee

- to advise CSOC and Council on all aspects of the taxi industry; to consider matters referred to it which will maintain or improve convenience, sufficiency, safety, and economy of taxi service.

39. Visual Arts Advisory Committee

- to advise on matters concerning the acquisition, maintenance and exhibition of City-owned art work in public places.

40. Westboro Business Improvement Area - Board of Management

- to improve, beautify and maintain municipally-owned lands, buildings and structures in the area beyond what is provided at the expense of the Municipality; to promote the area as a business or shopping area.

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PERSPECTIVES

CIVIC PARTICIPATION AND MINORITIES: MYTH OR REALITY?

George Bancroft

The 1960's shone with a brilliance one visualizes the Renaissance to have reflected. It was the heady days of the civil rights movement, student power, psychedelic drugs, coffee houses, easy sex - and a spate of books and articles on power.

The questions of the sixties are still with us. There is still the issue of who governs, who are the leaders, who makes the decisions - or contributes to the making thereof. Today, in these less chaotic but no less questioning times, we talk not so much of participatory democracy - a term out of the sixties - but of citizen participation.

Characterising it as civic participation, Ottawa through its Department of Multiculturalism has been attempting to study this phenomenon. In 1988 I conducted a very preliminary research project on their behalf. What follows is not a summary of my report, but a few thoughts which come to mind as I reflect on my analysis.

For the purpose of the study, civic participation was defined as the participation, as a result of either election or appointment, on agencies, boards and commissions in the public sector.

What was at issue, then, was the extent to which members of four target groups - Blacks, Chinese, South Asians and Southeast Asians - had been, or stood a chance of being, appointed or elected to legislative councils at the municipal, provincial or federal level, or appointed to agencies such as the International Development Agency, the Royal Ontario Museum, or the Canadian or the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commissions. Also of interest were appointments to positions of high symbolic significance such as lieutenant governorships or the governor-generalship.

My reflection centres on at least five issues. They are:

- the degree of controversy in the field
- the position or the process
- the discrepancy between the vision and the reality
- the interethnic struggles
- the participation

The Degree of Controversy

The extensive controversy is due in part to the multiplicity of issues subsumed under the title of civic or citizen participation. These issues range from patronage and political pay-offs to who chooses the leaders. It also includes the extent to which leaders chosen by the mainstream are really the accepted leaders. That is, are they accepted by the groups they are "chosen" to represent.

Without having done the necessary and extensive research, I should hypothesize that very rarely in Canada today are the minority leaders chosen and legitimated by the mainstream really accepted by or are acceptable to those minority communities they are presumed to represent.

Two consequences follow from this proposition, if research shows it to be valid: (a) criticism of the chosen by their own is upsetting to the mainstream and (b) both mainstream critics and minority critics fight shy of being incisively critical of the persons involved. One of the things that militated against Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Presidency was, as expressed in several quarters, a reluctance to come out and criticise him as incisively as Bush, Dukakis, and Gary Hart were criticised.

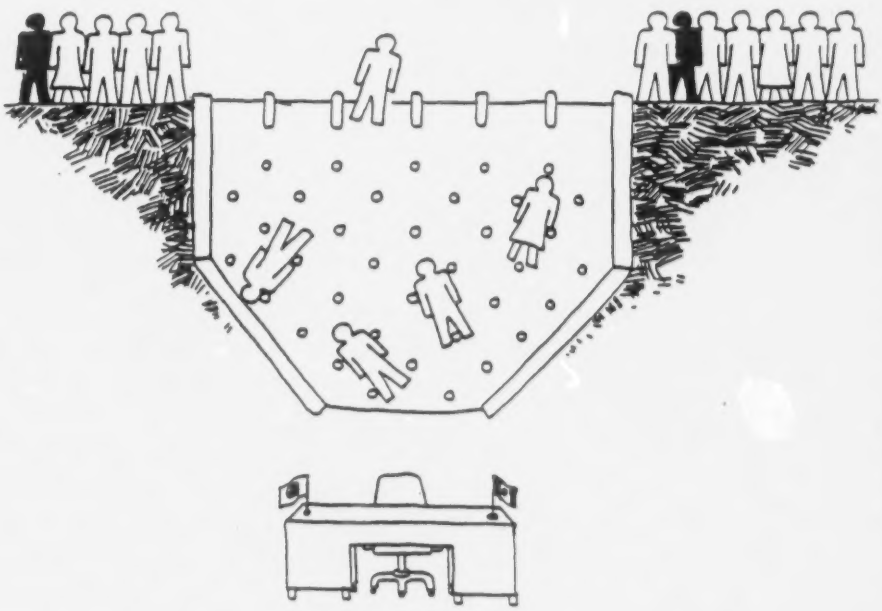
The same hands-off or kid gloves treatment manifests itself in Canadian society. When a Black or East Indian comes forward as a political candidate is he/she subject to the same rigor of criticism as any mainstream candidate?

Another source of controversy has to do with how the chosen comes to be chosen. And here I express a major difference of opinion with persons I met working in the field. They tended to want to place the emphasis on how many Chinese elected officials, for example, there were at the municipal, provincial and federal levels and make comparisons between provinces. Put another way: are the Chinese of Manitoba manifesting more civic participation than the Chinese of P.E.I.? What is the comparative experience between urban and rural communities?: for example, are the Chinese of Toronto less prone to participate in the wider community than those in a small village in mid Ontario? What are the participation levels based on sex? For example, are Chinese women getting these appointments or being elected more than Chinese men? (Bear in mind here the two-for-one phenomenon: woman and minority). And are differences evident between minority groups? For example, are Chinese women more to the forefront than South Asian or East Indian men?

Position or Process?

In my view, important though such questions may be, the more significant ones have to do with the process by which one gets on the escalator that leads to subsequent participation.

Recently a friend told me about how X, an "ethnic" in a very high profile symbolic position in one of our provinces came, "way back then", to be introduced to an outstanding Canadian who furthered the former's career. It was a story of the "accidents of life". My friend had made the introduction. They were of the same minority background. He who was introduced got the nod and now occupies a position of high power. He who made the introduction remained in his humble position throughout his career.



Of course "accidents of life", valued though they may be, are not sufficiently objective to permit analysis, but one should still study the process by means of which those who are chosen come to be chosen.

In 1980 I became Executive Director of the Multiculturalism and Citizenship Division of the then Ministry of Culture and Recreation. One of the first things my Minister asked me to give some attention to was facilitating the appointment of an increased number of non-whites to agencies, boards and commissions. I worked on this matter with an experienced member of the senior staff. We had little difficulty coming up with an initial list of people we knew. Where we failed was that we were not able to formulate any sort of process that may be followed with a degree of objectivity to arrive at suitable candidates.

At the moment the major route seems to be the reputational: have you heard of so and so. Until a better way can be designed to recruit candidates for these positions, the practice of filling them will be inadequate. Thus it is all a question, then, of studying the process. Until we can understand the process, the practice will remain unsatisfactory.

Discrepancy Between the Vision and the Reality

Appointments/election to agencies, boards and commissions is like Motherhood - everybody is for it. When politicians speak before an ethnic audience they make impassioned mention of this policy. When "ethnic" groups appear before commissions of inquiry to present their briefs they make impassioned demands in this regard. But, as a senior political official in Ontario told me, the number of very good candidates for any one position tends to be very many and the number of positions, while presumably extensive (there are more than some 500 relevant agencies, boards and commissions in Ontario alone!) are much fewer than people think.

Consider for example the lieutenant governorship of a province. In recent decades three non-white persons have gained such appointment: Steinhauser of Saskatchewan (Cree Indian), Alexander of Ontario (Black), and Lam of British Columbia (Chinese). The whole eastern half of Canada remains untouched. Also, no non-white woman has made it yet.

The willingness may be there, as attested by the breakthrough appointments already made. But there is still a long way to go, and the way becomes longer still when one assesses the chances of a second representative of a given group to be chosen. In other words, with a Chinese having been appointed to the vice regal post in B.C., one wonders when will the second stand a chance.

Inter-Ethnic Struggles

Every group seems to want more of its people in positions of power; but since the number of positions of which individuals are aware is not congruent with the number of possible office holders, the question arises as to how many of a given position a given group can logically lay claim to.

This reasoning surfaced during the 1984 enquiry of the standing committee of the Federal government into the participation of visible minorities in Canadian society. One group felt that because of its size in the total population it was underrepresented in the legislature - despite the presence of several members of that ethnic origin. Others could argue that that group was already represented; and surely it was the turn of the non-represented groups to be recruited.

There is serious danger in this line of argument for it would eventually result in representation by quotas - to which every one is opposed.

The foregoing is the intergroup aspect of the controversy. The intragroup extends it: the Sikhs are the largest sub-group of South Asians but a greater number of South Asian appointments go to non-Sikhs - and the Sikhs wonder about the fairness. Another case in point: Black Jamaicans greatly outnumber other Blacks in Canada whether immigrant or native; what proportion then of Black appointments or elections should go to Jamaicans?

There is an arresting converse line of argument; namely, should not the appointment or election be based on individual merit?

Since civic or citizen participation has, in the final analysis, to do with policies and with governing, the claims of individuals and those of groups have to be balanced. And herein in part lies the dilemma: how does one do the balancing?

A recent example of a politically astute balancing act in this regard was performed by Premier David Peterson of Ontario. In putting together his 1986 cabinet, he named the first non-white, a Black, one of his ministers. In 1988, he named a second non-white, a Chinese, to cabinet. Thus two non-whites currently sit in the province's 20 member cabinet - both of whom were appointed in their "rookie" year in the House. Other premiers might very well have taken one out to put the other in. Peterson put both.

A South Asian friend disputed the merits of Peterson's act! He argued that a third non-white had been elected; he too was a first-timer; he was South Asian. My friend argued that this third non-white too should have been given a cabinet appointment. But what of the other members and their interests or representation? How many are enough? How many too many? Interestingly enough this third person is on the threshold of cabinet, serving as he does as parliamentary assistant to a minister.

Participation

What does participation really mean? Put crudely, it would seem that when many hitherto excluded groups and their representatives gain the much sought after appointments, the appointee can find himself/herself so thoroughly hemmed in by the system that he/she can make very little of a breakthrough along new paths or paths tailored more directly to sectional group interest, needs or concerns. Some hint of the difficulty can be detected in what is said on taking up the appointment: "I shall keep an eye out for the interest of my group, but I shall represent all." The "but" and the "all" are the significant, operative terms.

Let me illustrate further. As part of the study of civic participation for the Federal government, I invited some twelve persons from the target groups - Black, Chinese, South Asian, Southeast Asian - to a discussion of the issues involved. The discussion was hard-hitting, forthright, informative and tempered with a measure of cynicism. After all, these were highly qualified persons, who were successful in their own professional right.

One of them made a tellingly insightful point, when, impassionedly, she said that, in her view, one of the major problems with the appointment (of visible minorities) to agencies, boards and commissions was that the appointing forces expect things to be "business as usual" once the appointment has been made. What is not realized - and it needs to be, she emphasized - is that "business cannot be as usual". In fact, for the appointee to be effective, he/she expects or hopes to see a change in the structural arrangements of power.

Perhaps therein lies the crux of the matter. That is to say, that civic participation as defined or delineated in terms of appointments of citizens to agencies, boards and commissions should not be seen primarily as rewards for services or favours rendered - rather it should be seen as a factor portending new power-structural arrangements.

George Bancroft is Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Toronto and a Commissioner with the Ontario Human Rights Commission.